

MATE SELECTION AS AN INDICATOR OF ETHNIC IDENTITY AND
MAINTENANCE: A CASE ANALYSIS OF THE "IMMIGRANTS"
IN SAMANA, DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

BY

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by

Eleanor Valerie Smith

If I had only one gift to receive from God it would not be riches or material goods. I would ask that it be the love and support of my friends and family. With only that one gift I am the richest woman in the world. There is no limit to what I can do. Nothing is insurmountable.

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Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School
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Chairman: Dr. Joseph S. Vandiver
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Ethnicity is of great interest in sociology because of its implications for the endurance and development of a people, the integration of various peoples and the maintenance of stability within a society. Studies of ethnicity and of intergroup relations have often centered around a group's adjustment to stress, prejudice and discrimination and to the assimilation process rather than the establishment of progressive pluralist existence.

Through an analysis of an enclave located in the Samana peninsula in the northeastern Dominican Republic, this research examines the question, "What are some of the variables considered important in ethnic identity?" It analyzes several variables which are considered important in ethnic identity maintenance and are utilized to remain distinct by this enclave.

While remaining distinct, this enclave has become integrated into the larger Dominican society and has managed to maintain a dual but not schizophrenic sense of identity. This work briefly discusses the importance of and the roles which the variables of language, name and religion play in the life of this group of people.

This research was grounded in the basic assumption that endogamy strengthens the foundation of the ethnic group, thus, providing the basis for long-term persistence of ethnic identity. The goal of the research was to analyze whether, in fact, endogamy was emphasized and practiced, thereby ensuring ethnic group maintenance.

Through the use of parish records and interviews, family genealogies were reconstructed. From a sample of 1512 cases, sub-samples were selected to examine mate selection based upon categories of ethnic group, age and patterns of familial unions. An indepth analysis was conducted on eight families. It was found that strong endogamous tendencies have remained constant for more than one hundred and sixty years.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

General Introduction to the Dissertation

Ethnicity is a phenomenon which has, over the course of time, been of great interest to scholars because of its implications for the endurance and development or annihilation of a people, the integration of various peoples, and the maintenance of stability within a society. Ethnicity manifests itself in a variety of ways ranging from style of dress, religious and social rituals and practices, to choice of language and family constitution. This work examines a few of the variables important in ethnic identity maintenance and the factor of mate selection which appears to be the main mechanism utilized to remain distinct by an Immigrant¹ enclave located in the Samana peninsula in the northeastern portion of the Dominican Republic. While remaining distinct, this enclave has become integrated into

¹
The subjects of this research use the term "Immigrant" as an ethnic designation referring to their unique identity. Henceforth in this research, the term "Immigrant" (when capitalized) will be used to refer to both the English speaking Immigrants of the nineteenth century presently living in the Dominican Republic, and their descendants. The term "Native" will refer to persons of indigenous and Spanish ancestry.

the larger Dominican society and has managed to maintain a dual but not schizophrenic sense of identity. Briefly the work discusses the variables of language, name and religion, and then discusses in some detail the choice of mates.

Substantively this research is valuable because of its contribution to the general understanding of the culture and history of a little known group, the "Immigrants" of Samana. The research is timely because of the rather limited information on the "Immigrants" and in the United States there are very few works in English. References in the form of some sentences or paragraphs are made in a few works (e.g. Yunen, 1977). There has been a limited number of works which devoted portions to the history of the arrival of the Immigrants and the establishment of the Evangelical Church (Werge, 1972; Yunen, 1977; Davis, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1983). The published materials, for the most part, have been in Spanish and have tended to focus primarily upon portions of the religious experience of the people (Davis, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1983). This may be in part the results of the orientation of the researcher because the major published researcher on Samana thus far is an ethnomusicologist. Since the music of the Immigrant group has centered around religious themes, it is difficult to separate the music from the total religious experience. There are, however, several other aspects of the Immigrant

culture which are equally unique and interesting. The only major works done in English are articles written by Parsons (1928), Hoetink (1962), and Willmore (1977). In his article, Hoetink describes the community known as Honduras. In fact, although Honduras is a major location for the Immigrants, they actually settled throughout the Samana peninsula. Today, as a result of migration, they may be found in many other key cities in considerable numbers. The research is also timely because there is currently a "new found" national interest in African descendant identity not only among the Immigrants but others as well in the Dominican Republic. As Moya-Pons explains,

Now more and more Dominicans dare to say that they are not white, that they are not Catholic, and, of course, that they do not owe their culture to Spain. This can be exaggerated in some instances, but the arguments for this new racial and national stance come from the younger generation who have been raised in the cities of the East and have grown up with colored Puerto Ricans, West Indians, and black Americans. Something new is going on in the Dominican Republic and it should be taken into account and should also be investigated by the social scientists. (1981:33)

It should be noted that, primarily using a qualitative research approach, but including some quantitative analysis, this research examines the research question, "What variables are considered important in ethnic identity?" In relative terms the population analyzed is small; nevertheless the fusion of ethnology and family reconstitution in the analysis of this population makes the findings valuable and extends the implications of this research. With the

ever increasing population movement both in the form of immigration/emigration and return migration, the need to understand the processes involved in intra- intergroup relations and identity emergence becomes critical. Samana could conceivably serve as a valuable key to that understanding. Additionally, the research would enhance the general body of knowledge about "New World" ethnic groups, and particularly the groups which have immigrated to other "New World" locations after having been in the United States and/or European colonies. The data gathered on Samana could conceivably provide a base for comparison of other "isolated Afro-American/Afro-Caribbean enclaves" in various parts of the "New World," and would contribute to the broad body of knowledge about the history of the "New World." The research may also contribute to the general knowledge of how and why ethnic identity survives when it is neither forced, because of intense discrimination or imposed segregation, to draw upon its internal strengths, nor is recognizable as "different" because of visible racial differences.

A final value of the research is its timeliness in terms of the available resources. This research becomes critical at this time because the older generations are dying, and in many instances the oral history and traditional stories, games, etc. are not being passed on to the younger generations. Since very little has been written, when the older generations die, so also will much of the history.

Historical Background of Samana

On the northeastern end of the island of Hispaniola there exists a relatively unknown community of immense historical and cultural importance to academicians and policy makers. Originally called Xamana by the indigenous Indian population, and legally known as Santa Barbara de Samana (but shortened to Samana), the port city has, over the course of years, been one of several strategic Caribbean island navigational liaison points between North and South America. It is also, according to historians and local residents, the site of one of the first landings of Christopher Columbus in the "New World." According to Demorizi-Rodriguez (1984), the first encounter between Indians and Spaniards occurred on January 12, 1493, in the Samana peninsula at a site now called "Golfo de las Flechas" (Gulf of Arrows).

Founded in 1756, Samana has been occupied successively and at times concurrently by the Ciguayo Indians, Spanish, Dutch, French, Canary Islanders, and various groups of African descent during the course of its history. As the Haitian domination of the island of Hispaniola expanded in the nineteenth century (after independence), Haitian President Jean Pierre Boyer instituted a number of policies to "Haitianize" or develop the former Spanish colony. He strongly encouraged Haitian migration to all regions of the former Spanish colony. Many settled in the region of Samana. Encouraged by the results of the migration efforts,

and desirous of increasing the labor force and development process, Boyer contacted several American abolitionist groups, and Protestant missions, promoting the emigration of Afro-Americans to Haiti. The response was particularly strong from the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Both slaves and freedmen, totaling 6,000, began to arrive in Hispaniola during the period 1824-1825, anticipating freedom and greater opportunities than would be afforded them in the United States (Hoetink, 1962:6). Although many died en route to the island, those who survived settled both in what is now Haiti, and the Dominican Republic. The fate of those immigrants who settled in the Haitian region is not known but identifiable groups descended from those immigrants still exist in the Dominican Republic.

The members of the Afro-American group who came to the Dominican Republic settled in eighteen areas including the capital Santo Domingo, Puerto Plata (a port city and presently a key tourist site), La Romana, and the Samana peninsula (so named because it borders the Samana Bay) and had designated agricultural responsibilities in the national developmental efforts to meet the subsistence needs of the country. Some groups were given the task of cultivating coffee; others were to cultivate cotton, tobacco, cacao, and sugarcane; still others were to cultivate fruits and vegetables. Those who settled in the Samana peninsula had the responsibility for growing fruits and vegetables.

During, and preceding, the "Haitianization" efforts of Boyer, a small stream of Afro-English Immigrants periodically arrived in Hispaniola. The Afro-English Immigrants consisted of both freedmen and maroons (runaway slaves) who previously were under British control either on ships or in colonies. Although the "New World" point of origin of the Afro-English represented a variety of colonies, a very large number of the Immigrants came from the Cayman and Turk Islands. In most instances they came individually or in small groups. Never did they come en masse as did the Afro-Americans.² The Afro-English who arrived after 1824 also tended to settle in these areas which had large concentrations of Afro-Americans. This is a natural occurrence because, as Cardona and Simmons (1975:24) suggest, there is a tendency for immigrants to migrate to areas which present the fewest psychocultural obstacles. Since there were already existing enclaves with African descendant English-speaking people, the Afro-English, although not of the same ethnic groups, would feel more at ease in that environment. The community established in the Samana peninsula remained intact and has survived for over one hundred and sixty years (see Hoetink, 1962; Willmore, 1977; Davis, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, 1983.)

2

Hereafter the Afro-American, Afro-French and Afro-English groups shall sometimes be referred to as the American, French and English groups.

Samana Today

The Geographical Setting

The name Samana is applied to two areas in the Dominican Republic. Using the systemic approach in the analysis of the areas, the term holon³ may be applied to the Samana peninsula, or provincia⁴ Samana as it is called in the Dominican Republic. Provincia Samana, measuring 39.3 km. long and 14 km. wide, consists of three municipios: Samana, Sanchez, and Las Terrenas. Each municipio (municipality) has a town area and secciones (sections) which constitute communities. Each seccion also has subcommunities with specific names. Although not equivalent to the geopolitical divisions of the United States, for the sake of clarification, and purely for that purpose, the following analogies may be made:

provincia = U.S. State municipio = county

cuidad mayor = county seat seccion = a rural area
in the county

The zona urbana (urban zone), located in the major municipio, is the seat of the government for the

³ Total system with its interacting parts and the environment of which it is a part.

⁴ Note that for clarity, all foreign terms will be underlined, and the rules of capitalization for the respective languages will be observed.

provincia. There is a sindico (mayor) who is responsible for the overall functioning of the provincia and a gobernador who is the direct liaison person between the President of the Dominican Republic and the respective provincia. The gobernador is appointed by the President with recommendations made by influential people and legislators from the provincia. This political structure exists throughout the Dominican Republic.

The focal system for analysis in this research is the municipio Samana with its secciones and the zona urbana which is the main "city" area known as Samana. As is true in most Third World/Developing Countries, certain statistical and specific census data are not readily available; and for the provincia Samana they are nonexistent in some instances. There are national census data published for 1981 which provide information about the general population in the Province, but no specific categories for race, ethnic group or "Immigrant vs. Native" population are provided. The only differentiations which are made are based upon sex, age (older than 18) and urban vs. rural. Statistics for the provincia and municipio Samana are provided in Table One.

TABLE 1: POPULATION AND HOUSING
CHARACTERISTICS

AREA	OCCUPIED DWELLINGS (viviendas ocupadas)		POPULATION		
	total		male	female	18yrs+
PROVINCIA	12,764	65,699	34,102	31,597	32,046
Urban	2,892	14,377	7,048	7,329	7,281
Rural	9,872	51,322	27,054	24,268	24,765
MUNICIPIO	7,323	38,838	20,059	18,779	18,636*
Urban	963	5,023	2,386	2,637	2,684
Rural	6,360	33,815	17,673	16,142	15,948

*

Error was in the original data.

This researcher's knowledge of the general characteristics of certain areas in the provincia makes it a bit easier to generalize about the percentage of Immigrants located there. One finds in the rural areas the tendency for like ethnic groups to remain settled in particular areas. For example, the following secciones with corresponding communities may be said to be approximately 100% Immigrant (although the differentiation between English and Afro-American may not be made).

seccion Honduras
communities:

Honduras, Los Algarrobos,
Majagualito, Los Green,
Nordeste

seccion Juana Vicente
communities:

Juana Vicente, El Limon

Certain other areas have a large number of Afro-descendants, but also have other colonizing groups, e.g., French, Dutch. Still other areas have a large number of "Natives" in the population. In the more urban areas, e.g. Samana or

Sanchez zona urbana, one finds more of a mixture of ethnic groups in the various neighborhoods. In the zona urbana of Samana, for example, one finds in the same apartment complex or residential neighborhoods people of both the Immigrant and Native groups as well as foreigners (e.g. Chinese, Germans, French).

One major factor which has affected the present appearance of the Samana zona urbana is what some people would call the improvement, and others would describe as the destruction, of portions of the downtown area of the city by President Balaguer in the early 1970's (see e.g. Yunen, 1977). During the early 1970's the Dominican government decided to renovate the zona urbana with an eye toward increasing the potential for a larger tourist industry in the Samana peninsula. As was explained to this researcher,⁵ the government declared that no metal framed buildings

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It should be mentioned that there still exists one metal framed building--St. Peter's Church. Built by the English Wesleyans with materials brought by boat from England, it was the first church in Samana, and was scheduled to be destroyed during the renovation efforts. It was only after the intervention of the Wesleyan Church of England that the scheduled razing of the building was reconsidered, and the Church was declared a national monument. The AME Church, almost equally significant in the history of the population in Samana, was not permitted to maintain its historical facade. Although also scheduled for razing, after much protest the building was not torn down, however it was covered with concrete. The emotions concerning the governmental act run extremely deep and intense. When Balaguer decided to run for another term as president in 1982, a sign was painted on one of the main streets in the downtown area which reminded people of his "destructive" actions in the early 1970's.

should remain standing. The government razed the downtown area and built new buildings and residences for the people. Although in many instances the new homes were considerably better than the shanties in which the people previously resided, there was a general mood of displeasure about the fact that significant cultural artifacts were destroyed; and people who had previously been poor but proud of owning their own property, and thus controlling their destinies to an extent, found themselves back in debt because they either had to rent or purchase new homes.

The peninsula of Samana is often described by Dominicans as the most beautiful area of the country. It has an agricultural subsistence base. The land is generally distributed among families with obligatory heir rights, and it is not uncommon for a family to own ten to twenty acres. Thus, in business negotiations several members of the family must be involved in final decisions. Except during dry periods (which may occur once or twice a year) the vegetation (consisting primarily of coconuts, cacao, coffee, legumes and fruits) is very lush and green. Near the mountain ridge, which separates the Samana peninsula from the remainder of the country, there are some undeveloped scrubland areas. In many areas of the peninsula fruits and vegetable (e.g. pigeon peas, limes), and coconuts grow wild. Protected by the natural buffer of the Samana Bay and located in a valley at the base of a mountain ridge, Samana

is not prone to receive the brunt of most hurricanes which hit the island of Hispanola, thus allowing some reduction of natural disaster. The crop yields are, however, influenced by rainfall, and periodically the national government must seed the clouds to produce sufficient water for consumption and irrigation in the more rural areas of Samana as well as the other parts of the country.

This region is the primary supplier of coconuts for the country. Unfortunately the processing of the raw products does not occur in this region, much to the frustration of the residents, and this fact makes them dependent upon non-local processors and buyers to set prices and determine profits. Income in this region basically coincides with that in other predominantly rural areas not geographically close to major urban centers, educational institutions and/or industries. Most farms produce subsistence for the rural residents, and small profits may be gained through the sale of surplus products in the municipal markets, and/or house to house. Fresh unprocessed milk is brought in daily from the farms and sold from door to door. Most people, even in the city, have access to chickens for fresh eggs because either they or their friends own chickens. Those who have neither may purchase any desired quantity from the local store. Since many people in the rural areas do not have refrigeration, people traditionally buy fresh food each day. This tradition extends even to many city residents who now have refrigeration. Local grocery stores often sell

blocks of ice for consumption in the homes. Primary foods consumed are chicken (locally grown and shipped in from other regions of the country), fish, goat, and locally grown legumes and fruits. These are generally purchased at the municipal market. Prices vary since bartering is a popular modus operandi. Cheese and rice are among the most basic dietary staples. It is possible to purchase processed foods (e.g., company produced cookies, pasta, Koolade) and imported American products. As would be expected, the imported products are very expensive. Processed foods tend to be priced higher than fresh local goods, and all products tend to be sold in the grocery stores. Samana, one of the furthest points from Santo Domingo, tends to have higher (by a few cents) prices for all things which are brought from the capital. Choices of dry goods are limited because availability depends upon the frequency of the store owner's (or a designated buyer's) trips to the capital or another major urban area.

Since the Samana peninsula itself is separated from the rest of the country by a major mountain ridge, which in the past posed very difficult transportation problems, the population has traditionally looked inward for sustenance and support. Similar to many other rural areas, it is not densely populated, but there are very few (if any) uninhabited areas.

Transportation is primarily by foot, bicycle or motorcycle, and/or minibuses operated by private individuals.

Most upperclass persons have cars, but there are not many in that class and they are primarily located in the city itself. Public transportation is difficult to locate during the evening hours. Most people who need the service will hire a private taxi which will provide door to door service. It is possible to arrange taxi service weeks in advance, and it is totally acceptable to go to the private home of the driver to negotiate the time, place and cost. The cost of this service is based solely upon private negotiations between the provider and the user. Only a few national bus lines provide long distance transportation to major urban zones, and one such line does provide service to Samana.

Located in the city of Samana are a hospital and a national penitentiary. Although employment in the hospital is available to local residents, the majority of the employees of the penitentiary are in the military. It is the custom of the government to place the military personnel in an area away from place of birth and residency.

Because the seat of the municipal government is located in the city of Samana, many residents are civil servants. Tourism is a moderate industry during the winter months and provides supplemental income to many residents. Periodically, a cruise line will enter into a contract with the city and increase the volume of tourists who tend to be overwhelmingly Canadian and white European. Although there are significant tourist attractions in the region, few

governmental resources have been used to develop those beyond the downtown area of zona Samana. For example, the site of Columbus' landing is not developed as a tourist attraction. It is merely a part of the general landscape, although it has recently been declared a historical site and is designated for development by the government.

The Social Organization

Ethnically, Samana is presently the site of the settlement of four distinguishable groups who have been able to maintain, in varying degrees, their own group identities. Each group has its own distinct heritage--a person is of the "English," "American," "French," or "Spanish (Native)" group. Yet descendant families have become relatively acculturated to Dominican culture, establishing a cohesive sense of regional and national pride in the society. While maintaining its individuality, each group is a part of the community of Samana, but also Dominican. It is not necessary to negate or subsume any one aspect of their cultural

6

In the many instances, parts of the cultures of the Afro-English and Afro-American have merged to such a point that although internally still distinguished as distinct ethnic groups, the two are generally identified as one group --"the Immigrants"--in the larger samanesa community. They all speak the same basic English, have Protestant religions (but predominate in two different denominations), and intermarry. On the other hand they do have certain cultural distinctions, e.g., "English bread." A select few Immigrants do choose to identify only with their Afro-American heritage, but this posture does not predominate.

heritage. The dual Dominican and ancestral identification do not cause internal or social conflict. In addition to the four major groups mentioned above, there are also persons of Dutch, non-Afro- French and Indian ancestry interspersed among the population of Samana. As described in Samana, Pasada y Porvenir (1945:27), the combination of pirates, "rebels" and Spanish descendants has resulted in the emergence of a distinct cultural pattern in Samana.

Racially the Dominican Republic may be categorized as a country of "nonwhite" citizens. Because of the basic colonization approach of the Spanish--residential and cultural permanency in colonized areas through intermarriage and sexual liaisons with the original inhabitants and the establishment of Spanish social institutions--there tended to be considerable mixture of certain ethnic groups, particularly Spanish, African and Indian. The result has been a variety of cross cultural genealogical combinations, e.g., darker skinned persons with straight blondish hair, brown skinned persons with colored light eyes (even blue). There is a basic racial taxonomy based primarily upon skin color and hair texture which is generally recognized by the Dominican society. The major categories and characteristics for classification are as follows:

blanco (white): fair (light brown) skin with
straight hair;

indio claro (clear Indian): light brown skin
with reddish tone and either totally or
predominantly straight hair;

indio (Indian): medium brown skin with reddish tone and curly hair;

indio oscuro (dark Indian): darker brown skin with reddish tone and curly hair;

moreno (brown): brown skin with curly hair;

negro (black): dark brown skin with curly hair.

Part of the validity of this taxonomy is weakened by the fact that personal and legal placement of a person in the category is purely subjective and often a personal choice of the individual in question. Thus one may, although darker in color declare, himself or herself blanco on legal documents and it will be recorded as such. Rarely does a personal declaration result in the placement of the individual in the category of negro since this term does carry some negative connotations. Many Dominicans prefer to be considered blanco, although the most admired category is indio. The social classification may, and often does, vary in these instances. As would be expected the social recognition of the racial taxonomy is more important in the daily lives of the Dominicans.

In Samana the population has a somewhat larger concentration of persons with darker skin because of the historically larger concentration of people of African ancestry. Yet the community is diverse. A visitor to the area will observe racial gradations ranging from what is popularly considered in the western world as "pure Caucasoid" features (white skin, straight hair) through

mixed Caucasoid/Negroid features to "pure Negroid" features (curly hair, dark brown skin).

For the Immigrants, religious and many social activities have traditionally centered around the religious institutions. There are several denominations represented in the region. The major ones are

Evangelical (of the U.S.)	Pentecostal
African Methodist Episcopal	Catholic
Seventh Day Adventist	Church of God

The three major and oldest religious institutions are St. Peter's Evangelical Church (formerly St. Peter's Wesleyan Church), Bethel AME Church, and Santa Barbara Catholic Church. The two protestant churches, although presently maintaining separate identities, are intricately intertwined in history and tradition. The first church brought to Samana by the Afro-American Immigrants was the AME Church under the leadership of Isaac Miller. When Rev. Miller died, the AME Church was without leadership for a period of time. With little hesitation the white missionaries of the Wesleyan (Anglican) Church of England rapidly and energetically assumed the religious leadership. During this period several Afro-American Immigrant children were being trained in seminaries in Haiti and the United States to be ministers in the Wesleyan Church. It was assumed that they would join the pastoral staff of St. Peter's, but when they returned, once again history repeated itself. Similar to the circumstances which motivated the founding of the AME Church in the United States, the newly prepared ministers were

told that a Black could not assume the pastoral post of the church. Disturbed by the apparent discrimination being practiced, a group of parishioners left St. Peter's and in 1899 established Bethel AME Church.

During the history of the samanesa Immigrants there has been considerable exchange between the churches. For example, if one looks at the parish registries one may find some of the marriage records dually entered or a note in the parish records of one church indicating that the actual records or information may be found in the records of the other church. Additionally, members of the two churches have and continue to intermarry, and spend some time in both churches. For example, the minister of St. Peter's may conduct a funeral for a member of Bethel if Bethel's minister is unavailable, or a funeral or wedding may be conducted at one church and the baptism of the children may be conducted at the other church. For the members of both of the churches this is not considered unusual because, as a retired minister of the AME Church stated,

these two churches have recognized for 70 odd years that they are made of one people mostly, and should not try to get on without and each other. (Willmore, 1977:12)

Interactions between the protestant and catholic churches have, during the history of the community, ranged from total interaction (including attending each other's services) to virtual avoidance. The nature of the interactions have, to an extent, been greatly influenced by the orientation of the respective ministers at the time. The

ministers also influenced the choice of languages used in the church services, a factor which during the earlier period affected the extent of involvement of the Immigrant group in the churches. For example, the Catholic Church initially offered services in English and Spanish. It later deleted the English services, thus eliminating the Immigrant's opportunities to participate in and understand the services. Obviously those people who could not speak Spanish chose to affiliate totally with the Protestant Churches. Now, since all people at least understand Spanish, even if they choose not to speak it, therefore that problem no longer exists. In Samana zona urbana church services for all of the churches are conducted in Spanish. In the rural areas one does find some services conducted either totally in English or in a mixture of English and Spanish.

Linguistically the area is unique, and it has been suggested that there are pockets of linguistic isolates found no other place in the world (Hoetink, 1962). The English spoken, although similar to other Caribbean English dialects, is nevertheless distinct from all of them. It contains terminological remnants of the past which this researcher believes resulted from the isolation of the Immigrants from the Afro-Americans in the United States. Their language did not change in the same manner that the Afro-American English in the United States changed. Thus, there seems to be a merging of the dialect and expression of

the early 1800's Immigrants with the Spanish language organizational and grammatical structure to produce the distinct language patterns.

CHAPTER TWO REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review shall consist of a review of both the literature relating to the dynamics in ethnic relations and to those theories explaining mate selection. To provide illustrations and to discuss the relevant literature, references will be made to Samana and the groups under study when discussing certain theories.

Review of the Literature and Research: Ethnicity and Intergroup Relations

Singh (1981), in his evaluation of the focus upon homogeneity by many intergroup relations scholars, sees a need for more in-depth analyses of the dynamics of ethnic/cultural homogeneity. "These authors did not assess whether racial or ethnic homogeneity may have different implications for national integration" (1981:2-3). He criticizes many of the scholars and authors who argue that cultural homogeneity exists as a necessary prerequisite for national integration, because he believes that they have not attempted to differentiate and measure the consequences of the various types of cultural diversity, e.g., race ethnicity, religion, language.

Similarly, it should be noted that social science interest in the analysis of the processes involved in ethnic group formation and maintenance has developed slowly because of at least two reasons which scholars of intergroup relations generally acknowledge. It cannot be denied that social scientists both contribute to and are products of their societal ideology. Since until relatively recently the basic American ideology was assimilation, it was automatically assumed by American social scientists that the various immigrant groups which entered to the United States would ultimately assimilate. This means that the presence of the ethnic groups in various aspects of the American history merely suggested that the particular ethnic group was at one of the lower stages of assimilation. Beginning from this premise, the primary interest of the social scientists was the analysis of the speed of, and components involved in, the assimilation process. The existence of the ethnic group as a unique, separate entity, and in most instances, the perpetuation of the ethnic group through time was of little importance in the research arena. Second, it also cannot be denied that when the ethnic group was finally analyzed, the focal point was on the psychological level. The role and impact of society in the formation and maintenance of the various ethnic groups were not considered. In effect the American society may contribute to the existence and importance of ethnicity. What then is this concept called ethnicity?

Ethnicity

While a succinct discussion of ethnicity and ethnic group is provided in the section "Definition of Terms" in Chapter Three, because of the nebulous nature of the concepts, a discussion of some of the various definitions which have emerged is important at this stage. For clarification, and to provide a base from which to compare the various definitions of ethnic groups and ethnicity, this writer provides the following definitions. An ethnic group is a group which has, during the course of time established a genetic pattern, a history (mythical, real or a combination of both), a set of traditional beliefs, practices and cultural components which are considered integral to the group, and which differentiate that group from others which exist. Ethnicity is the recognition, acceptance and identification with that history, genetic pattern and those cultural components of the ethnic group. Therefore the characteristics of ethnic groups span the genetic, social and cultural spheres of life. Ethnicity is a mind set, a way of thinking, a psychological orientation which serves as a guide to life. Although ethnic group membership tends to be ascriptive, and thus one has no control over membership status, ethnicity is not ascriptive. It is associational. A person chooses the psychological orientation of ethnicity, and may choose to cease identification with the ethnic group at some point. Examples of this may be found in all ethnic groups--the mulatto in the U.S. who chooses to "pass" when

it is convenient, and then return to "blackness" periodically; the Jew who changes the surname from Greenberg to Green, but continues to celebrate the bar mitzvah.

The intensity and depth of the ethnicity varies, and it is that variability which may determine whether an ethnic group facing assimilation or annihilation will ultimately survive. Because of the various uses of the concepts ethnicity and ethnic group, efforts to define and operationalize the concepts ethnicity and ethnic identity are often problematic. Isajiw (1974) points out that there are variations in definitions based upon the level of generalization, methodological approach used, and types of variables being considered. For example, what may be listed as criteria for an anthropological definition of an ethnic group may not be the same used for other social scientific definitions of ethnic groups in North America or Europe (1974: 113). Analyses of ethnicity have ranged from relegating it to an "erroneous/unimportant" variable which some scholars argue causes theoreticians to focus upon phenomena other than the "important all inclusive variables of class and class conflict," to placing it upon that unequivocal pedestal where "all can be explained" (see Schermerhorn, 1974). Traditionally the theoretical contexts in which ethnicity have been studied have generally been the dichotomous typology of ethnic assimilation vs. ethnic pluralism. Kobrin and Goldscheider (1978:2) argue that ethnicity must be viewed as dynamic rather than static.

Its dynamism does not imply, however that it is temporal, transient or unimportant. Rather it is systemically adaptive. Ethnicity has both objective and subjective elements. The objective elements include those distinctive cultural characteristics such as language, dress, and life style. The subjective elements include attitudes, self evaluation, etc. maintained by the ethnic group. Both the subjective and objective elements combine to serve as guides and regulate the intraethnic and interethnic interactions.

When discussing ethnicity, there have been two basic positions taken by scholars. The first, initially articulated independently by Weber, Shils, and Geertz, and known as the "primordialist," views ethnicity as deeply rooted affiliation with the group.¹ Weber (1978) for example, classified a group of people as an ethnic group if that group shares a belief about common descent. Stein and Hill explain it further,

Ethnicity is not a matter of voluntary, existential choice; it is an essential given of human existence. Relationships based upon it are proximal, deep, and meaningful; other relationships are distal, situational, and tentative. (1978:41)

Because the relationship is deeply rooted in the group, and an emphasis is upon tradition, ethnic groups are sometimes

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See e.g., Schermerhorn, 1970; Parsons, 1975; and Shils, 1967 for further discussions of these various viewpoints.

considered archaic, and resistant to change. The second position, known as "instrumentalist" or "circumstantialist" views ethnicity as situational, manipulatable (see eg. Barth, 1969a,b); thus, for whatever reasons the members of the group choose, they may claim and emphasize ethnic identity in certain situations where ethnicity may be advantageous. In other situations, these same persons may emphasize another personal identification (Stone, 1977; Hicks, 1977). As a variable which is situational, ethnic stratification reacts and adjusts, and thus changes. Glazer and Moynihan (1963), for example, have referred to ethnic groups as interest groups. Others have suggested that ethnicity is a political phenomena which emerges in the struggle for or against power.

Barth (1969a,b) and certain other scholars suggest that there are both ascriptive and performance components to ethnicity. Obviously, the ascriptive component consists of those characteristics over which the individual has no control, e.g., race, sanguinal family membership. The performance, on the other hand, is the actual "acting out" of certain expected behaviors. Rose (1976) points out that although ethnic identity may be composed of such variables as race, national origin, and/or religion, only one, or a select few, of these variables may be emphasized in a given society. For example, although national origin is emphasized when one speaks of white American ethnics, race is emphasized when one speaks of Afro-American ethnics.

For the Immigrants of Samana, the speaking of "American"² evokes pride when an Immigrant is speaking to a "brother" or "sister" from the United States.

Staiano (1980) proposes that ethnicity exists as a "process" which means that it ". . . is an ongoing response, a reaction to categorical ascription as well as a reaction to the creation and incorporation of symbols into the collective identity" (p.29). She sees in the perception of ethnicity as a "process" an implication for ". . . the development of a series of adaptive strategies in the exploitation of a changing variety of econiches" and a search for some form of symbolic description (identity) of self (p.30). Thus, it would not be a static phenomenon, but rather would be dynamic. In her application of the theory, she analyzes the creation of Afro-American identity questioning whether Afro-Americans can be considered an ethnic group.

Can a group which apparently has no unifying institutions, religious forms, customs, and (it can be argued) no language, which has been partially assimilated into the dominant institutions and centers of power, whose members exhibit a vast array of life styles and political philosophies, and which has evinced a variety of "adaptive strategies" in both rural and urban contexts be thought of in any sense

The Afro-American Immigrants often refer to the English language they speak as "American" language. Although the issue was never raised, this writer suspects that the designation "American" is designed to differentiate it from the English spoken by the Afro-English Immigrants.

as analyzable in terms of ethnicity? Blacks do not seem to have the cultural and social distinctiveness that is normally thought of as underlying ethnicity. They do not seem to constitute a collectivity (p.2)

The concept as she describes it can be useful in an analysis of ethnic emergence and maintenance. In this writer's opinion, however, if the above argument is used as a basis for the theory, Staiano (1980) establishes her "theory of ethnicity as a process" based upon several faulty premises. ³

Isaacs (1975) approaches the concept and phenomena of ethnicity in an interesting manner. He discusses the physical portion of group identity, citing the physical body and "place" to which people are attached. He suggests that group identity formulation and maintenance processes have to do with two major ingredients in everyone's personality and life experiences--the sense of belonging and the quality of self esteem. He notes, however, that although considered major, these are not the only ingredients.

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The errors in her statements shall not be belabored because of their obvious fallacious nature. Suffice it to point out that the Black religious institution has traditionally been one of the cornerstones in the lives of peoples of African descent, no matter where they are ultimately located. The Black religious experience is unique, Black (soul) music is distinct, and certain aspects of Black language are unique, in a similar manner that the various Hispanic, Italian, Asian, etc., ethnic groups have distinctive characteristics. It seems that implicit in the "partially assimilated" status assigned Afro-Americans by Staiano, there are certain other "non-assimilated" aspects of the ethnic group which make them different. If not, there is no need to add the qualifier "partially." Why not say totally?

There is not much about the study of basic group [sic] that can be reduced to single formulas or be symmetrically arranged. The gravities. Skin color and physical characteristics may be at the heart of the group various elements show up in different relationship to each other and with specific identity cluster of the black American but only at the margins in the case of the blacker African, the core of whose group identity may lie in his tribal affiliation. (1975:33-34)

From the samanesa perspective if the family base is or was in Samana, one is "puro samanese" regardless of where one presently resides. As one respondent stated, when speaking of the home of her recently deceased mother, she (the respondent) must make arrangements to insure that "home" is safely maintained now that her mother and father have died. Although she had a relatively large home in the capital, Santo Domingo, and her husband and children have lived in Santo Domingo for many years, Samana was still "home." Among the samanese living away from Samana, one finds the need to return "home" for revitalization periodically, and references are often made to Samana as one's "permanent home." For these samanese, intentions to return "home" are always expressed, even if those intentions are never fulfilled. This phenomenon was, and is not, uncommon among the various groups who migrated to the United States and Europe, e.g., Chinese, Korean and Italian immigrants in the U.S., Caribbean immigrants in the U.S. and Great Britain (see, e.g., Gonzalez, 1979:260; Marden, 1962:172; Kitano, 1985:200; Baca and Bryan, 1981:299).

Although speaking in the context of its usefulness in religious language, Shea (1977) suggests that among the characteristics of ethnicity, one very important characteristic is its particularity, or distinctiveness.

Ethnic consciousness is more than another facet of the 'return to experience' movement. Ethnic consciousness wants to appropriate experience in its concrete configuration. It is not satisfied to talk about 'love.' It wants to show the tonalities and passion of love in an Italian-American or an Irish-American or Polish-American or Black American setting. (1977:87)

Another characteristic of ethnicity is community. The importance of the community has been emphasized by many scholars. For Shea, "the locus of ethnic consciousness is family and race" (p. 87). The focal point is not the individual himself as a unique being but rather the relationships which sustain or destroy that individual. The individual ". . . is the center and products of an intimate bonding process (family relatives, friends), and a racial inheritance (the characteristics and traits of grandparents and great-grandparents)" (p. 87). From Stein and Hill comes an expansion of the communal conception of ethnicity.

. . . [E]thnicity represents an avenue whereby understandings of 'the world at large' are arrived at, that is to say, through ethnicity ordinary individuals are not linked to collectivities--and social integration is thereby attained--but to notions of 'life,' 'society,' and 'the world' as well. (1978:4)

One observes this characteristic in the strong network and sense of brotherhood system which exists in Samana. If something is needed, the needy person is referred the needy

to a relative or friend. Frequently when addressing a friend, the term used is not amigo (friend) but rather primo (cousin). Often while in the rural areas, when this researcher and the Dominican host needed to leave the motorcycle (our means of transportation) to continue on foot, the host would knock at the door of a stranger's home or would ask a local storekeeper to watch the motorcycle. Never was the request denied, nor was the motorcycle ever molested.

Variables in Ethnic Identity and Maintenance

According to Spicer,

The essential feature of any system is an individual's belief in his personal affiliation with certain symbols, or, more accurately with what certain symbols stand for. There are collective identity systems as well as individual ones. . . . A relationship between human individuals and selected cultural elements--the symbols are the essential feature of a collective identity system; individuals believe in and feel the importance of what the symbols stand for. (1971:796)

He suggests that there are entities known as "a people" which is ". . . a determinable set of human individuals who believe in a given set of identity symbols" (p. 796). He chooses to label the entity "a people" rather than "a nation" because of the political implications usually associated with the concept "nation." Although it may exist in some instances, in no way does Spicer wish to imply that a link exists between political and cultural systems in his

discussion of identity systems. For "a people", there are certain identity symbols: language, territory, music, dance, etc. Enlightened Blacks with a pan-African orientation emphasize the existence of a "people" with common ancestral ties. For the samanesa Afro-American Immigrant a "people" consists of those descendants living in the Dominican Republic and in the United States. In the minds of the Immigrants, both share the same language, ancestral heritage and religion.

Spicer acknowledges that the persistence of the identity symbols may exist even when the original source of the symbol no longer exists, e.g., no longer identifiable territory which was once occupied, or language which was once spoken.

. . . [I]t is apparent that a territory once occupied by a given people may be lost without the breakdown of the identity system. . . . Sentiments regarding the land become intensified . . . and become of greater importance in the configuration Further, just as the names of selected places, after the territory is lost, many become very sacred symbols, so selected words and phrases in a lost language may become of utmost importance in the religious and ritual life of a people. (p. 798)

Thus the "people" perpetuate the identity system. For example, among the Jews a people exists--"the Jewish diaspora"--who can now relate to a homeland: Israel. Although contemporary Israel as a base for Jewry is new, the perception of Jews as a people has existed for quite a long time. Spicer further explains,

What makes a system out of the identity symbols is not any logical, in the sense of rational, relationship among them. The meanings that they have fit into a complex that is significant to the people concerned. The meanings amount to a self-definition and an image of themselves as they performed in the course of history. The selection of cultural elements for symbolic references goes on in terms of the character of this image; the frequent shift in emphasis are a part of the process of maintenance in response to alterations in the environment. (p. 798)

Van den Berghe suggests that there are certain easily identifiable ethnic markers in any ethnic group. The first is genetically transmitted phenotypes. The second is man-made uniforms (e.g., tattooed bodies, body adornment). The third is behavior (e.g., speech, demeanor). One's cultural heritage is not genetically transmitted but rather is learned (1981:28-29). There are certain ethnic markers which allow the members to differentiate themselves from other groups and are significant in the context of the perception of the members of that ethnic group and the larger society (Keyes, 1981:7).

Two variables which do seem to be extremely significant in ethnic identity and maintenance are family and religion. In his article "The Universality of the Family: A Conceptual Analysis," Reiss suggests that the family should be ". . . defined as a small kinship structured group with the key function of nurturant socialization of the newborn. The nurturant function directly supports the personality system and enables the individual to become a contributing member

of society" (1969:53). He suggests that this is a better description of the familial function and specific unit known as "the family" than that of the nuclear family. The family is the primary source for socialization and strategies for survival, and it is with the family that one's value system and sense of identity develop. Therefore, the nature and composition of the family is critical. Kobrin and Goldscheider, in their discussion of the family processes specifically as they relate to who marries whom, suggest that as a result of their research

[t]he question of marriages which cross ethnic group boundaries is critical for an analysis of ethnic continuity. Intermarriage may reflect the dilution of ethnic cultural content and has implications for maintenance of distinct ethnic communities. The central institution fostering ethnic identity is the family The rate of interethnic marriage is associated with the structural and cultural assimilation (1978:97)

They go on to say that "in the process of acculturation ethnic intermarriages tend to increase and the salience of ethnic homogamy declines" (p.121). One does not find that phenomenon occurring in Samana. Although the Immigrant community has basically become acculturated to the Dominican culture, and has engaged in considerable cultural borrowing, there has occurred at the same time the persistence of the original Immigrant cultural system. This seemingly conflicting phenomenon appears to be compatible, and its occurrence is not uncommon. In research in the Soviet Union, Gantskaja and Terent'eva similarly noticed that

although in the community under study there did exist some cultural borrowing, but that did not mean that the basic core of the respective ethnic groups had lost its significance (1978:47-156).

In general, one may agree with Hollingshead's thesis concerning the role of religion in nuptiality. Based upon research on choices of marital partners in New Haven, he found that ". . . next to race, religion is the most decisive factor in the segregation of males and females into categories which are approved or disapproved with respect to nuptiality" (1969:291). This is very strongly illustrated in the efforts of the Immigrants to insure endogamy, and, thus, ethnic identity maintenance. For the Immigrants, similar to all African descendant groups throughout the world, the base of social values is religion. There is a sense of pride in the religious heritage of the people, particularly in those with the African Methodist Episcopal background. Since the AME Church is clearly the only purely Afro-American religious institution, it is once again a symbol of the Afro-American heritage and source of continuity in ethnic maintenance. For many of the Immigrants the response to the question, "Did your parents tell you to marry only Immigrants?" was "No." What parents did emphasize was to choose " a wholesome person, one who was religious and good." Mrs. Felenda Nunez de Shepherd explains that they were told, "We should marry a man of the Church, not marry a man of the street. Hunt your own. He

may go, but he come back to the Church." Implicit in the statement about the religiosity of the choice of marital partners is that the partner be of the AME or Wesleyan Church, since it is the general belief that the correct set of religious beliefs are those of the two churches. By extrapolation that statement also implies that the choice of partners is of necessity another member of the Immigrant group, since almost 100% of the AME and Wesleyan congregations are of Immigrant descent.

One cannot speak of ethnic content without also discussing ethnic boundaries (Royce, 1982:6). Efforts had been made during the earlier years of ethnic group research to study selected limiting factors in ethnic identity maintenance, but a new era and breakthrough in ethnic identity research was ushered in with the presentation of Barth's Ethnic Boundaries in 1969. Barth's theory of ethnic boundaries, although limited and criticized at times, is rather appropriate for this research because his basic premise is that to understand an ethnic group one must not limit the analysis to content. Behavior, and particularly boundary maintenance behavior, must be studied.

Thus the persistence of ethnic groups in contact implies not only criteria and signals for identification, but also a restructuring of interaction which allows the persistence of cultural differences. (1969a:16)

Barth describes certain characteristics of ethnic boundaries. First, they are not territorially defined but are socially defined. "If a group maintains its identity

when members interact with others, this entails criteria for determining membership and ways of signaling membership and exclusion." Second, ". . . ethnic boundary canalizes social life"; that is, it encompasses a complex organization of social behaviors and relationships. Third, there is the interaction between the various ethnic groups. ". . . [E]thnic groups only persist as significant units if they imply marked differences in behavior" (1969:15).

Hicks (1977) suggests that the conceptualization of ethnicity with a set of permanent boundaries, developed by Barth needs modification. In fact, he suggests that the utilization of aspects of ethnic identity is situational.

The image is no longer one of people making irreversible 'crossings' of ethnic boundaries, undergoing a 'transformation' of social identity in the process. Rather, people often have a repertoire of ethnic attributes from which they can select the ones most suitable to a given situation. (1977:16)

Keyes offers a modified expansion of the "situational" thesis when he suggests that ". . . an ethnic identity may come to be held by peoples who previously held distinctive identities, the new identity deriving from a recognition of higher order communalities than those previously utilized as markers of identity" (1981:17). Samana provides a clear example of this merging of the two groups. Initially in the history of the immigration to Samana there were two groups--the Afro-English and the Afro-American. Although there are still some distinctly "English" and "American" surnames, the

residents have reached the point where they identify themselves and others of both groups as merely "the Immigrants." There has been considerable intermarriage. The common threads of African heritage and the "we the Immigrants"--"they the natives" phenomenon has predominated.

James Pitts suggests that race [ethnic] consciousness is a normative behavior which develops in a society where racial stratification is present (1974:667). In the case of Samana, Pitts' suggested cause of race consciousness must be modified. Although there is not much emphasis placed upon race and ethnic consciousness in daily interactions, there is a consciousness among the members of the Immigrant group. Based upon the materials read, and the conversations with various members of the Immigrant group, this researcher must conclude that this consciousness does not seem to have emerged from a sense of isolation, or from a system of stratification or discrimination. That is, the society does not appear to be racially or ethnically stratified, nor does there appear to be overt discriminatory practices. A cursory look at the current roster of personnel from the Department of Agriculture of the Dominican Republic, for example, reveals (based upon the last names)⁴ seven Immigrant descendants, and twenty-one Native descendants.

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In some instances the English names have been translated to the Spanish equivalent.

Of the five top management positions two are occupied by Immigrants and three are occupied by the Natives.⁵ Two of the three trained agronomists have Immigrant surnames. In the rural areas where Immigrants are concentrated the shopkeepers, craftsmen and other entrepreneurs are Immigrants. A review of the birth and marriage certificates over the past 100 years reveals a mixture of Native and Immigrant surnames for the clerks of the court during various periods in history. Thus, it seems that this consciousness results from deductive reasoning and the recognition of cultural heritage. "I am a member of the Immigrant group." "The original Immigrant group consisted of black (or darker complexioned) Afro-Americans and Afro-English." "I, therefore, am Black (darker complexioned)." The reasoning continues, "We are a distinct cultural group." "As a distinct group, we must have the responsibility of maintaining our cultural heritage." Although a large percentage of the Immigrants are of darker complexion, and all would be considered Black in the American (or more accurately the Western) taxonomy, there is little reference to color in daily life in Samana. Also, the classification system of the Dominican Republic would identify the various

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The ratio of "Native" to "Immigrant" is approximately 3:1 employed in this Department. It should be noted that a large percentage of the Immigrants live in the rural areas, and have limited education. Since the zona urbana is relatively cosmopolitan, one would expect a larger number of Natives.

members of the Immigrant group as members of a variety of racial categories, e.g., negro, indio, indio claro. One does not, for example, hear families suggest to their children that they marry light for the sake of their descendants and/or the race (ethnic group) as might be the case on the United States or Brazil (Degler, 1971:191). In some instances one will hear references to a person's color as a part of the description of that person. For the samanesa (both Immigrant and Native groups) the acceptance of the color variations, the recognition of the Immigrant as basic components in the samanesa culture and community, and the identification with the Immigrant group may be more deeply entrenched than generally recognized. Interestingly enough, in not one of the three gift shops in Samana did this researcher find one doll or other souvenir piece which represented the people as Caucasian. All of the dolls were either very dark (negra) or medium brown (india oscura, india). There were a few which were canela or very light skinned (mulatto in the American taxonomy). The paintings primarily contained darker skinned persons, similar to Haitian art. The abundance of souvenirs of this type suggests that perhaps consciously or unconsciously the people of Samana generally consider themselves "people of color" regardless of their ancestry. Thus, the need to distinguish persons based upon color is not strong.

Keyes suggests that the migration of an ethnic group to another location may lead to changes both in the social fabric and the culture of the ethnic group and the host group (1981:18). It has been acknowledged by both the Natives and the Immigrants that the Immigrants have made major contributions to the improvement of Samana and its cultural heritage. The Natives readily participate in some of the activities and parts of the Immigrant cultural heritage, e.g., attending the Anglican and AME Churches, attending parties, weddings, and funerals of the Immigrants, and eating ethnic foods, such as "English bread."

One of the key variables in ethnic identification and maintenance is language. Language has both physical and emotional significance for the hearer and user. Thus, there is frequently the tendency to assign certain stereotypic characteristics to the users of certain languages and the languages themselves; e.g., French is the language of lovers. "Language is frequently the focus of identification. It is readily apparent that when two groups do not have a common language, language difference is usually one of the first markers of different identities" (Royce, 1982:147-157). Royce notes that language often becomes a symbol of conflict with one group negating the value of the language, and the other group increasing its value of that language. In various politically independent countries and other colonized, areas native ethnic groups and/or foreign persons frequently have been forbidden or strongly

discouraged from using their native language. They were expected to use the language of the host country or service provider. This requirement implied a superiority of the host country's language, and also facilitated assimilation⁶ (or so it was thought). In fact what occurred was a resistance in those their culture. Often the native/immigrant population, as a form of protest and/or ethnic identification, either developed another language understood primarily by the members of their group (e.g., Caribbean creoles, Black English, San Andres Black creole in Colombia) or continued to speak the original language (e.g., Basque in Spain, Gaelic in Ireland, Island Carib in Punta Gorda, Belize and Corn Island, Nicaragua) and utilize the⁷ host language only when necessary.

Based upon the research conducted in Belize and Guatemala, Gonzalez (1979:259) found that members of the Garifuna (Afro-Caribs) ethnic group felt more of a sense of kinship with those Garifuna of other countries than they did with non-Garifuna of their own country. Similar to the Garifuna, in some instances ethnicity is expressed more strongly than nationality by the Immigrants.

⁶
For example, missionaries in Africa forbade the use of the "pagan" tribal languages among "converted" tribesmen.

⁷
See, e.g., Gonzalez, 1979:259; Spicer, 1971: 798; Marden, 1962:75; Kitano, 1985:191.

Ethnic Persistence/Maintenance

Why, one may ask, does ethnicity persist in societies which have the primary focus of assimilation? Many scholars in race/ethnic relations would suggest that ethnic identity persists primarily because of the need it fulfills in providing, among other things, a definite location in the social structure. Thus, the "conflict" environment would be more conducive to ethnic identity maintenance (see e.g., Spicer, 1971). Hicks suggests that, "Ethnicity, by using ethnic labels as symbols, provides us with a taken-for-granted reality. It affords us a means for ordering our social relationships at the same time as we explain the behavior of ourselves and others" (1977:13). Epstein expands upon that view,

In one of its aspects, then, ethnicity serves as a system of social classification; it provides a set of categories, with ethnic labels, in terms of which people structure their environment and govern certain of their relations with others. From a sociocentric point of view, these categories are 'objective,' external to the individual, compelling him to take cognizance of them; they are collective representations in the full Durkheimian sense. (1978:xii)

The Spicer model, developed by Edward Spicer (1971), suggests that there exist certain persistent identity systems in all societies. These systems are cultural systems which have demonstrated an unusual ability to survive in changing cultural situations. They have survived as a result of the participatory patterns of the members.

Spicer suggests that three main areas of participation are necessary for the maintenance of these cultural systems. The first sphere is communication through language. The language sphere consists of that language being used at the time, and is not necessarily the language which had been maintained over extended years. The second sphere is a sharing of moral values, which in actuality serves as guides in realities of existing opposition. The third sphere is that of political organization for achieving the objectives of the group (see Royce, 1982:31-50; Spicer, 1971:799). It should be noted that one sphere may be emphasized more at a given time than others.

According to Royce (1982), the Spicer model offers better explanations of certain situations in which a group's identity has been maintained than do other theories of ethnic maintenance. It emphasizes flexibility and responsiveness in ethnic groups. "The one characteristic that seems to dominate both symbolic content and mechanisms for persistence is flexibility. . . . There is a dynamic relationship between identity systems and the larger society. As changes occur in one system, corresponding changes appear in the other" (p. 47). Spicer suggests that the basic features of any identity system are the recognized meaning and personal association with symbols (cultural artifacts). He further suggests that there exist "oppositional processes" which occur in the group as a result of the efforts of the larger group to assimilate or

incorporate the ethnic group. These processes further reinforce the persistence of the identity systems (Royce, pp.11-50; Spicer, 1971:797). In her assessment of the Spicer model, Royce makes the following points:

1. the persistent identity systems may include many instances of ethnic identity; however, the major focus is upon those systems which have endured over time in "radically different" environments. This model provides a better, and more appropriate framework.
2. ". . . Spicer's notion of opposition as healthy is in itself a healthy step toward viewing situations of ethnic-based behavior as they really exist" (p.49).
3. his view of symbols as dynamic and meaningful to those who create them is useful in the analysis of any identity.

What frequently occurs in situations where efforts to force assimilation exist is selective acculturation. Rose cites three factors which affect selective acculturation (1976:43-44). The first is the need for certain behavior to facilitate survival, i.e., work toward the reduction of social conflicts. The ethnic member will adopt those superficial behaviors necessary for peaceful coexistence, but will not relinquish or modify those ethnic traditions which are not immediately affected. What results is a bicultural person, i.e., one who is able to adopt the ways of the host culture when necessary, and then revert to the ethnic ways when the need for "host culture ways" no longer exists. In Samana one observes selective acculturation and

the phenomena of language choices observed by Lieberman while studying the French Canadians living in English-speaking Montreal, Canada (1975:10-25). He observed that through the generations, although the French Canadians taught their children English, it was taught as a second language with French being taught as the primary language. For the Immigrant group in Samana, English was traditionally the primary language. Until the last few generations, English continued to be taught as the primary language in almost all families, although the language of the Dominican Republic is Spanish. The phrases necessary for external interaction were taught as a second language. Currently, although the children are still exposed to English in the family setting, in some families it is not emphasized as the primary language. Older family members will combine English and Spanish in one conversation. Thus, one may hear a person begin speaking in English, and when the person comes to a forgotten English word, revert to Spanish for that word, and then return to English; or one may hear one portion of the conversation in English immediately followed by another portion of the same conversation in Spanish.

The second factor which influences selective acculturation is the uniqueness of certain traditions which do not jeopardize the selective acculturation process. It is possible for the ethnic member to maintain certain ethnic traditions because of the ease in retention while also

adopting (in a modified form) some traditions of the host culture. Paralleling the phenomena in the U.S. in which the various ethnic groups have often acculturated to the white American culture, but not totally assimilated into that same culture (Gordon, 1964; Hicks, 1977), the Immigrants have acculturated into the Dominican culture but have only partially assimilated.

The third factor in selective acculturation is the exposure, or lack of it, to the other ethnic groups. Because exposure tends to be limited, the person is often not aware of the total lifestyles of other groups. Symbolic development occurs, incorporating the host and traditional cultures. Symbolic development may result from the merging of new elements with the traditional (existing) elements, or it may be formed from new symbols. One of the major implications of a new group's adopting the symbols of the "donor" culture/group is often the attachment of different symbolic meanings, and, thus, different interpretations. A clear example of this may be seen in the Haitian restructuring of certain traditions in the Catholic Church and the incorporation of certain Catholic components and symbols into the traditional Voodoo religion during and after the schism between the Catholic Church and Haiti in the 1800's (see, e.g., Metraux, 1972).

Interethnic Relations

Royce (1982) suggests that there are basically three factors which must be considered when analyzing the interethnic situation. The first is power, which Royce suggests determines, to an extent, the degree of sensitivity a group has to its ethnic identity.

Very simply, if you control society long enough, you begin to assume that your power is the natural state of affairs. You do not need to be aware of the complexities of the situation under your dominance because you control it . . . The view from below is quite different (p. 4).

Perception is the second factor. The question, "How do members of different groups perceive themselves others, and society?" is a very important one. Royce points out that there has been limited empirical study done on the perceptions of identity. The third factor is purpose, i.e. purpose of the ethnic identification.

Several scholars with expertise in race relations suggest that there are phases or stages through which ethnic groups go in the evolution of ethnic/race relations. Child has suggested a "rebel-ingroup-apathetic" typology (1943:76-187). Developed as a framework in the analysis of the Italian-American ethnic group's adjustment to the United States, Child suggests that there are three patterns of reactions to conflict between pressures to conform to the ethnic group on the one hand, and to the larger society on the other hand. The first reaction is "rebel reaction" in

which the solution to the nationality conflict is total assimilation into the host society. In this process of assimilation there is a rejection of the traditional ways of the ethnic group, and, thus, to a large extent, a rejection of the teachings and values (socialization) of the parents. The second reaction is "in-group reaction" in which the person chooses to affirm his/her ethnic identity while also structuring the family to conform, to an extent, to the prevailing norms of the host country. There is an attempt to have societal acceptance of the individual as well as one's the ethnic group as a significant a part of the host country, in this instance, America. The third reaction is what is called the "apathetic reaction" in which the individual seeks to deny the emotional importance of the conflict between ethnic identity/maintenance and assimilation by showing no preference for spouses. "The apathetic individual tends to adopt a hyphenated level for his own nationality; although he may at times emphasize either the Italian or American part of the label, he avoids emphasizing one at the exclusion of the other" (1976:345). Leslie explains further, "There is considerable intermarriage, and the families of these apathetic persons tend to remain marginal to the cultural worlds of both Italians and Americans" (p. 345).

Scholars recognize the importance of generations in the evolution of society and the social fabric of the society (e.g., Child, 1943; Marden, 1963:88-91; Hansen 1963:492-50).

Generally, when western scholars speak of "generations," they do so in the context of immigrant people, meaning the distance from the time of the original immigration (e.g., Nisei, Issei). For example, in 1952 Hansen (1963:495-497) introduced the "Principle of Third Generation Interest." The theory is based upon the ". . . almost universal phenomenon that what the son wishes to forget the grandson wishes to remember" (1963:495-497) thus explaining why social and ethnic movements which seemed to have lost momentum and importance re-emerge. He explains,

Whenever any immigrant group reaches the third-generation stage in the development, a spontaneous and almost irresistible impulse arises which forces the thoughts of many different professions, different positions in life, and different points of view and interest themselves in that one factor which they have in common: heritage--the heritage of blood. (pp.496-97)

The "Principle of Third Generation Interest" is also commonly referred to as the "The Theory of Third Generation Return." As a popular theory in intergroup/ethnic relations and ethnic identity evolution/maintenance, its applicability is limited when analyzing the samanesa Immigrant enclave because one finds the evolution occurring at a much slower pace. The theory suggests that there is a definite interactional pattern which emerges as the various ethnic groups enter another country and begin the process of assimilation. This interactional and ethnic identification pattern consists of three phases. In Phase One the first generation tends to maintain, at times fiercely and at all costs, its

ethnic and motherland identity. Commonly, the first generation immigrant arrives in the new country unable to speak any other languages other than his/her native language. If it is a family which has immigrated, the pattern often takes the form described by Leslie (1976:341-42). The husband, because of the need to assimilate somewhat so that he may support his family, will learn some of the language of the host country, but once back in the ethnic enclave, he will return to the usage of his native tongue. As Hansen explains, "Even the immigrant father who compromised most willingly to adjusting his outside affairs to the realities that surround him insisted that family life, at least, should retain the pattern that he had known as a boy" (1963:494). His wife, because of fear, bewilderment, and being ". . . repelled by indifference or hostility from outside . . . was more likely to seek security in the time honored ways of her parental family. Often she avoided learning English altogether, and confined her activities to the ethnic group" (p. 494). Among the ancestors of the Immigrant group in Samana, one finds that same pattern emerged. Although interaction occurred between the Immigrants and the Natives, according to the narrations of the older respondents, it was not uncommon for the parents to speak only English, maintain only English customs, and, in some instances, forbid the usage of Spanish language and customs in the home. In many families this continued until

relatively late in the twentieth century. As several of the older Immigrants explained,

My Children I taught them English.
I prayed and all in English. (McKenzie)
I never spoke a Spanish word to none
of my children . . . Until now I speak it
[English]. (Miller de Jones)
I only speak American. Spanish ain't
my language. (J. Shepherd)

According to the theory, having been born in the host country, the second generation has had considerably more contact with the host culture. The second generation tends to reject its ethnic identity and tries, at times equally fiercely and at all cost, to adopt the host country's customs. In the U.S., for example, Italian children responded in many instances by refusing to speak anything but English, considering their traditional ways and those of their parents "backward" and, thus, a barrier, in some instances, to upward mobility and acceptance by the larger society. Rose explains the rejection and subsequent "return to the ethnic group" on the part of the second and third generations as being a result of a threat to individual identity. "While the second-generation persons felt the need to strive for 100 percent Americanism for themselves by rejecting the ethnicity of their parents, third-generation persons, secure in their Americanism, find it no longer satisfying just to be an American" (1976:29).

Theoretically, following the common pattern, the second and subsequent generation samanesa Immigrant maintained more contact with the Native population than did their

parents. The schools, being a primary agency for assimilation, insured and continue to insure that the children share common experiences with non-Immigrant children by attending the same schools and being exposed to the same materials. Out of necessity and exposure, the second generation and subsequent generations knew more Spanish, and often could be observed speaking it, at times much to the chagrin of the parents. Interesting, however, was the failure of the second generation to follow the trend of ethnic denial and rejection. Although the second and subsequent generations learned the language and many of the customs of the host country, they still emphasized their ethnic identity, ensuring that their children English and know their ethnic customs and history. The ethnic group has existed as a part of the Dominican Republic for more than 160 years, but only within the past few generations have certain basic components of its cultural heritage decreased in importance. For example, it is only in the last generation, as the emphasis upon oral history has decreased, that one observes a decrease in the knowledge and understanding of the history and customs of the traditional "Immigrant" group. The result is that the younger generations (40 years of age and younger) often understand limited English, and speak none. They often know their general history, but are unable to narrate details of it. What has remained constant, however, is the continual homogenous marital trend. According to the "Third Generation Theory"

the third generation, curious to an extent and seeking its lost roots, returns to its emphasis upon the "ethnic group."

Often this "return" may take the perceptual form of aggrandisement or modification of the original group (Hansen, 1952:492-500; Glazer & Moynihan, 1963:27-28). In the case of the Immigrant group, one finds the beginning of the "return" process because there are younger generations who do want to learn more English, who do want to hear more history of their ethnic group, etc. What is different from Hanson's general theoretical evolutionary process is the number of generations which were required before the loss, and subsequent reseeking, of the total culture.

Caribbean Interethnic (Race) Relations

An added problem in the conceptualization, and thus identification and research of race relations and ethnic identity in the Caribbean, exists in the definition of the groups being studied, and the modalities used for categorization. The most obvious and commonly cited criticism of social science research on Caribbean and Latin American race relations is the fact that a dichotomous model is used (Hoetink, 1962; Mintz, 1971). The person is classified as either Black or White, and the various gradations which are a part of the social structure of the societies are not considered. This has been the result of the Western social scientists defining race relations in terms of ideologies

of their home countries. In various parts of Europe (except perhaps the Iberian peninsula) and North America, a person is either Black or White, and often, as in the case in the United States, a person's phenotypical characteristics are of no importance in racial classification. If a person has any known African ancestral ties, the person is categorized as "Black."

Although not directly addressing color variations, Mintz explains the historical context which has encouraged a general degree of tolerance and acknowledgement of racial variation in the Caribbean:

Such goings and comings created Caribbean societies accustomed and adapted to anonymity, geographical mobility, and the presence of strangers, visible differences in customs and appearances, and the ebbs and flows of both men and power. (1971:439)

Pitts makes a very important point which must be understood if race or ethnic consciousness is to be perceived as a threat. He notes that "race prejudice can be positively associated with race consciousness, but it would be a mistake to treat them as interchangeable" (1974:671). He further cautions that "it should not be assumed that an actor's race conscious behavior toward a particular issue necessarily means that race conscious behavior will be consistently displayed toward other issues confronting [the racial group]" (p. 671). Mintz explains the analytical difficulties sometimes faced when examining racial consciousness in the Caribbean.

. . . [T]he extent to which such consciousness is a firmer indicator of bias, of prejudice, of convictions about inherent differences, is often unclear, and the inner feelings of Caribbean peoples about their darker (and lighter) brothers are not so readily ascertainable. (1971:439)

Hoetink, in his book Caribbean Cultural Variants, introduces the idea of "somatic factors" being important in race relations in the Caribbean. He speaks of two categories of relations which exist in the Caribbean region. The first type of relationship is public, non-intimate, and to a large extent superficial. The second type involves intimate, private, deep relationships which may, but do not necessarily, result in the establishing of familial ties. For the samanesa the relationships among the people are basically a combination rather than dichotomization of the two. It is not uncommon to see the Native descendants and the Immigrant descendants sitting together in church, attending social functions together, dining and enjoying entertainment together. Yet there is often not the intimate sexual relationships which would normally follow the second type relationship proposed by Hoetink (1967:120-160).

Richard N. Allen, as cited in Olien (1973), developed a classification scheme for the Central American populations which is also applicable to other areas. He suggests that certain specific factors should be considered when developing a classification system. These factors are the recognition of the following:

1. a distinct historical tradition;
2. assimilation;
3. cultural differences;
4. social and economic traditions.

Allen suggests that there are "population components" which consist of a grouping of people with common culture and distinct interactional relationships. There also exist "regional variants" which are groupings of similar population components existing in close proximity or contiguous to each other. To allow for the existence of groups not in close proximity but culturally similar, Allen suggests the existence of cultural components. A cultural component is comprised of similar population components regardless of the geographical location. He introduces another concept into his discussion and thus expands his thesis when he presents "cultural tradition" which consists of cultural population components in historically similar cultures. The Afro-Americans in the U.S., the Afro-English in the Caribbean, and the "Immigrant group" in Samana would comprise a cultural tradition according to his conceptual framework (Olien, 1973:177).

Review of the Literature and Research: Family Theories and Studies in Mate Selection

Several family theories suggest that there are certain variables which enter into the process of mate selection. Murstein (1976) divides the various mate selection theories into several categories: psychoanalytic theories, value

theories, Complementary Needs Theory, process and filter theories, and stimulus-value-role theories. The following discussion shall basically follow her categorization.

Psychoanalytic Theory

The psychoanalytic approach focuses upon the individual and the subjective aspects of that individual. The major areas of analysis are the following:

1. the influences of early familial experiences upon the individual (socialization in the family);
2. personality development and child-rearing practices;
3. sexual adjustment in marriage;
4. dating, courting and mate selection;
5. deviant familial behavior--desertion, divorce, homosexuality, out-of-wedlock childbearing, etc. (Bayer, 1966:156).

The major proponent of the Psychoanalytic Theory of mate selection was Sigmund Freud. For an application of his theory to mate selection, one may look at his hypothesis concerning "love." Freud, beginning from a sexual base, suggests that there are basically two types of love which exist, and that the form of love is determined by the sex of the subject. Thus, the males will engage in object love in which the dependency upon others for meeting needs is paramount, whereas the narcissistic love in which the person is the love object is characteristic of females.

Although the psychoanalytic approach has been useful in the analysis of human behavior on many levels, it has been the tunnel-visioned emphasis upon the unconscious level which is considered both its strength and a major shortcoming. Another shortcoming is the fact that over the years there have been neither a large body of objective data from which the researcher may draw nor have there been many testable hypotheses (Murstein, 1976:24-25).

The psychoanalytic approach may be somewhat useful when analyzing the interactions and influences of the family among the Immigrants. For the samanesa the process of socialization and early familial experiences are rather strong. Unlike in the American society, the nuclear family is not the primal or ideal family type. One does not grow up without contact and some control exerted by various members of the extended family.

Values Theories

Coombs suggests that most existing theories of mate selection are based on values (Murstein:1976:78-88). The Ideal Mate Theory suggests that an individual marries another who resembles ideal characteristics for a spouse. Propinquity is considered a variable because the living proximity of the individuals often results in the sharing of certain important values. This sharing of cultural values results in "likes marrying likes." For Coombs, the only

theory which may not be explained using the value base is that of complementary needs because that theory focuses upon the dichotomous rather than homogamous variables. A criticism of Coombs' theory is that although it expands the general understanding of homogamy, it does not explain the manner in which the values result in attraction. Other general criticisms of the values theories are that the approach

1. does not account for the departures from commonly shared values;
2. does not consider other variables;
3. explains how couples get together, but once together, values become less significant.

Complementary Needs

In 1957 Winch (1963:587-603) introduced the Theory of Complementary Needs which suggests that there are certain needs which are gratified by the mate; thus mate selection is based upon the capacity of the potential mate to meet those needs. The theory suggests that complementary needs are those in which "A's" need "X" is gratifying to "B's" need "Y," and "B's" behavior in acting out "B's" need "Y" is gratifying to "A's" need "X." "A's" need and "B's" need do not have to be totally different. They may be different simply in degrees of intensity. Building upon H.A. Murray's Theory of Needs, Winch suggests that there are twelve basic human needs, and three general traits which are critical in

the process of mate selection. He suggested that the mate choice either directly or indirectly involves satisfying (gratifying) certain of these needs (Murstein, 1976:42-43). Winch's theory suggests that all human behavior is oriented toward the gratification of human needs. Certain of those needs become organized in the personality and may not be conscious, but do provide guidance (patterns) to behavior. During the process of personality development, these needs are inculcated and become subjected to normative regulation which may have its expression in both endogamous and exogamous norms. With the backdrop of certain normative behaviors, a list of "eligibles" may be compiled. This process is not, as one would suspect, always conscious.

Over the course of time the Theory of Complementary Needs has been tested by several researchers who focused upon certain needs. Leslie notes the works of Ktsanes, Bowerman and Day, Schillemberg and Bee, Heiss, M. Gordon, and Blazer as examples of researchers who have utilized this theory in many of their works (1973:448-450). Those needs which were empirically tested were as follows:

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|----------------|
| 1. abasement | 6. dominance | 11. approach |
| 2. status striving | 7. hostility | 12. anxiety |
| 3. recognition | 8. status aspiration | 13. autonomy |
| 4. achievement | 9. nurturance | 14. deference |
| 5. vicariousness | 10. emotionality | 15. succorance |

Winch's Theory of Complementary Needs has been criticized on the basis of the following points:

1. Empirical data have only minimally supported the theory.

2. The theory, as presented is too simplistic, and does not account for complex behavior (Murstein:71).

Process and Structural Theories

Reiss (1976:93-97) developed the Wheel Theory, which suggests that there exist several stages or processes through which a couple goes in establishing a relationship. The initial stage is that of rapport, in which the couple determines, among other things, their level of understanding and comfortableness with each other. In stage two a feeling of relaxation occurs which leads to self-revelation. The form of relaxation and self-revelation are culturally determined. In stage three the self-revelation progresses to mutual dependency. The final stage, which is culturally determined, is personality need fulfillment. Promulgated by such scholars as Ogburn, Parsons, Bell, and Vogel, and popular in sociology and social (cultural) anthropology, the structural-functionalist approach to the study of the family views the family as a social system. Thus, it is composed of various interacting parts (subsystems), and the interactions of these parts is of primary concern. Berardo explains,

When the social anthropologist speaks of the functions of the family he is, in general, referring to the part it plays in perpetuating itself and in maintaining the total social system or structure, that is society. (1966:36)

He goes on to explain that the analysis of the family using the structural-functionalist approach is best accomplished

. . . by focusing on the formal aspects of the family and/or kinship systems--composition, residence and inheritance rules, kinship rights and obligations, parental authority patterns, marriage forms and regulations, separations--and tracing the structural implications of these aspects for social relations. (p. 36)

The samanesa family is an excellent subject for structural-functional analysis because of its strong intra-familial relationship and the definitive structured relationship with the larger Samana community.

In summary, the structural-functionalists focus upon the following major functional areas:

1. the relationship between the family and the broader social units;
2. the relationships between the family and subsystems; and
3. the relationships between family and personality (McIntyre, 1966:55).

A major criticism of the structural-functionalist approach, in general, is the implicit interpretation of functional prerequisites. If an item is a prerequisite, the question arises as to whether it may also exist primarily to fulfill that function. To some scholars this approach is tautological (see, e.g., McIntyre, 1966:72).

The institutional frame of reference approach in family study is primarily descriptive and comparative; thus it is possible to make "universal generalizations"

(Koenig & Bayer, 1966:80). The family is analyzed in terms of a multifunctional social institution which includes a series of functions such as socialization, recreation, status and identity provider. In this analysis the institution rather than the individual family is the focal point; therefore the structure, functions and values of the family are analyzed as an institution. This would naturally be considered a shortcoming for those scholars primarily concerned with the individual, and his/her adjustment, functions, etc., in the family. Another shortcoming is that the Institutional Framework Theory deals with the modal family (Koenig & Bayer, 1966:91; Kenkel, 1960:87).

Psychosocial Theories

For interactionist analysis, the family is perceived as a compendium of interacting units (personalities). It has been popular because of its appropriateness in the study of the family as a small group. Thus, the focal point is the various forms and effects of those interactions and the familial (especially child) socialization process. The theory argues that symbolic interactionism is anti-reductionist and little, if anything, may be learned from the study of lower animals. The unit of analysis must be human. Of particular interest in this form of analysis are such topics as mate selection, parent-child relationships and dating. Among the proponents of this frame of reference

are Reuben Hill, Ernest Burgess, and Ruth Cavan. A major criticism of the interactionist approach is the lack of a clear definition of concepts and unified theoretical framework. For example, the term "interactionist" is not a universal title used by all students who approach the family from this vantage point. Additional criticisms include the tendency for interactionists to limit the study primarily to the mother-child or wife-husband relationship (see, e.g., Eshleman, 1969:15).

Other theoretical approaches to family study, including the social psychological and developmental approaches, do not appear to this writer to be particularly applicable for this research; therefore they are not presented here. In subsequent chapters there will be a discussion of the appropriateness of some of the various theoretical frameworks presented in this chapter. Through the application of the data gathered in Samana, the research question of whether mate selection may be an indicator of ethnic identity and maintenance will be examined.

CHAPTER THREE CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

Statement of the Problem

In many instances the traditional studies of ethnic groups, ethnic identity/maintenance/consciousness and interethnic (race) group relations have centered around the group's adjustment to stress and the assimilation process, rather than the establishment of progressive pluralist existences.

Thus far, very little research has been done on the various groups and the intergroup dynamics which have emerged to maintain peaceful coexistence and, perhaps in a true sense of the word, a pluralist community in Samana. The research is grounded in the basic assumption that endogamy strengthens the foundation of the ethnic group and thus provides the basis for long-term persistence of ethnic identity. It explores some of the adjustments and intergroup processes which have permitted the evolution of a seemingly pluralist community and examines one of the variables which affect the identity of the group--its mating patterns. The goal of the research is to analyze whether, in fact, endogamy was emphasized and practiced, thereby, ensuring ethnic group maintenance. Among the

questions asked were the following:

1. What have been the predominant marriage patterns?
2. What role has mate selection played in ethnic identity and identity maintenance?
3. When exogamous mate selection did exist, what variables influenced its occurrence?
4. In such exogamous mating, what identification patterns are manifested in the offspring?
5. How important is propinquity in homogamy?
6. To what extent are mate selections self-consciously and deliberately based upon ethnic identity (homogamy)?

Key Elements of the Conceptual Framework

In any type of research it is critical that there be a clear explanation of the concepts to be discussed and their definitions so that understanding is maximized. This section shall provide an explanation and definition of these key elements.

Ethnicity

To a large extent the definition, and thus application, of the concept "ethnicity" depends upon the orientation of the user. For some scholars, ethnicity merely means the identification process and framework which guide the life and orientation of the individual (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965;

Mithun, 1978). A very general definition of ethnicity, provided by Mithun, addresses the criticisms of the more limited definitions. Mithun defines ethnic group as ". . . people who share a sense of tradition be that derived from religious, physical, linguistic, or historical origins" (1978: 210).

Van den Berghe expands upon that definition to include those instances when the historical origin may be questionable, but is important nevertheless. "Ethnicity is common descent either real or putative, but even when putative, the myth has been validated by several generations of common historical experience" (1981:16). He goes on to suggest that ". . . ethnic and racial sentiments are extensions of kinship sentiments" (1981:18). For Van den Berghe, "ethnies" (the concept he uses to designate ethnic groups) are actually extended kinship systems. He uses the idea of the natural tendency of kinships to protect and maintain themselves to suggest that ethnic groups do the same. Therefore, from Van den Berghe's perspective, it is logical that they are kinship groups as well. He suggests that the various men in the kinship system are peacefully willing to exchange among themselves their kinswomen as wives. Thus, after several generations, the wives are related in some form to their husbands. The relationship may be in the form of distant cousins.

For other scholars, ethnicity implies strife, conflict, etc. (see, e.g., Hicks, 1977). From this writer's

perspective, it is unfortunate that ethnic identification is automatically equated with strife and other problems in interaction because if the study of ethnicity begins with that premise, the focal point will be the degree and types of conflict which exist between groups rather than the positive aspects of interethnic relations and ethnic identity.

For a limited number of scholars ethnicity is considered a source of unity and pluralism. Shea, for example, does not view ethnicity as being synonymous with racism or conflict. He suggests that true ethnic consciousness emphasizes interethnic harmony.

To an extent ethnic consciousness reverses the aggressive, panicky style that often characterizes this search [for identity]. The question is not who am I but who are we? The anxiety the identity question raises is mollified because it is shared. The answer is not a conquest but a gift, received in interaction with others, and not in solitary introspection. The problems of racism and identity receive a subtle, promising, reversal when appropriated through ethnic consciousness. (1977:88)

For the purposes of this paper, ethnic group is defined as a group with a commonly shared set of characteristics (ascribed and achieved), ancestry and culture. Membership in the group is defined and acknowledged by the larger society as well as the members themselves. This writer intentionally excluded any mention of the group's position in the larger society because its position may vary and the term "subgroup" suggests "beneath." Ethnicity is the

consciousness and identification with the ethnic group. This consciousness may cross nationality lines.

Ethnicity has both a voluntary and ascriptive aspect (Barth, 1969a;b). Although one cannot deny the obvious physiological, nontransmittable ties which resulted from birth, personal recognition of that ethnic identity may sometimes be voluntary (Kobrin & Goldschneider, 1978; Issacs, 1975). One can often find examples of the Jewish individual who changed a portion of his/ her name to make it more "Anglo/Saxon," or the lighter skinned Black who "passes" into the ranks of the "white" population. It is the voluntary aspect of ethnicity which shall be the primary focal point of this research.

Homogamy

When discussing the various theories of mate selection, homogamy remains an almost constant underlying theme. The homogamous tendency of people has been acknowledged for many years. Eshleman (1969:275) argues that there are two frameworks into which homogamy can be placed. The first is the "opportunities framework" which involves propinquity. Implicit in propinquity then is "opportunity" provided for choosing marriage mates. The opportunity is often limited by societal or group/cultural sanctions, thus limiting the range of available people to include only those people in spatial proximity. The second framework is the normative framework which explains homogamy on the basis of the social

sanctions which encourage/enforce homogamous choices (1969:275). Kerckhoff (1964) argues that homogamy is not unidimensional; thus, it is possible to have several degrees of acceptable similarities depending upon the circumstances and nature of the persons involved (1964:289-297). Homogamy may be used as a descriptive and/or explanatory concept. Descriptively it merely means "likes choose likes." That is, there is a tendency to choose as a mate those persons with perceived commonalities. This suggests that those persons with common backgrounds and experiences will tend to couple and ultimately marry. As an explanatory concept, homogamy provides an answer for the fact that there is a greater proportion of married couples sharing some of the same basic characteristics.

According to Burgess and Wallin (1968), the evidence of the research on 100 couples seems to be convincing that homogamy is a factor central in mate selection. "The study of 100 engaged couples confirms the findings of previous studies in that in many physical, psychological, and social characteristics, the tendency of like to mate with like is greater than that of opposites to be attracted" (1968:36). They argue that the appropriate application of homogamy is as a descriptive concept because "there seems to be insufficient evidence to indicate any psychological impulsion of like to mate with like" (p.33). In this research homogamy shall be defined as the practice of marrying someone with similar characteristics. The

motivation for the choice of mates is a primary focus of the actual research.

Residential Propinquity

One very important variable in homogamy is residential propinquity, that is, choosing marriage partners from those living geographically near. Katz and Hill, as cited in Leslie, suggest a "Norm Interaction Theory" which proposes the following hypotheses:

1. Mate selection is normatively regulated.
2. The probability of marriage varies directly with the degree of interaction.
3. Distance and segregation of racial, religious, economic, and other groups in society governs the probability of interaction (1976:529).

Burgess and Wallin classify propinquity as an essential condition, but not a precipitating factor in mate selection (1968:1-37).

The idea of marriage patterns as an indicator of social distance is not unique. Bogardus, for example, in his social distance index has a question which relates directly to the willingness of one ethnic group member to accept by marriage relationship to a member of another ethnic member. The index has traditionally been used, however, as an indicator of the extent of prejudicial attitudes (1933:265-271).

Endogamy

Speaking of endogamy, Levi-Strauss suggests that marriage rules define not only what the nature of the kinship will be, but also who will not be included in that kinship circle (1969:49). He goes on to suggest that

. . . there are two cases to be distinguished here: on the one hand endogamy, or the obligation to marry within an objectively defined group; and on the other hand preferential union, or the obligation to choose as spouse an individual who is related to Ego in some particular way. (p.45)

For Levi-Strauss, "True endogamy is merely the refusal to recognize the possibility of marriage beyond the limits of human community. The definition of this community is many and varied depending upon the philosophy of the group considered" (p.49). The criteria used to form the pool of eligible spouses are usually based upon some concrete characteristics such as name, language, race, or religion. These criteria represent an exclusion of certain groups of people as potential spouses because of their nonmembership in the cultural heritage of that group. In this research, "endogamy" is the marriage of one "Immigrant" group member to another. Efforts shall be made to differentiate between "pure endogamy" (i.e., marriage only within one ethnic group, the "English" or "American" group), and general endogamy (marriage between Immigrants).

CHAPTER FOUR THE RESEARCH DESIGN

Methodology

The data gathering methods used in this research are of a type not commonly used by sociologists. Thus, a brief discussion of the general techniques and extent of utilization shall precede the actual discussion of the methods specifically utilized.

Archival research for family reconstitution has not been a widely publicized method for community study. Although it has not been widely used, when used, family reconstitution research has made, and continues to make, an important contribution to methodology. It may provide certain noticeable patterns and indicate the relative importance of such variables as migration, health, economic status and social interactions. For example, on parish records in two protestant churches in Samana, the location of residence and age of spouses at the time of marriage and the occupation of parents of both the husband and wife were sometimes noted. Unfortunately this information was not always recorded, and the quality and quantity of the data varied according to the minister entering the information.

Speaking of the period to 1968, Hollingsworth (1969:139) laments that when doing demographic research scholars, in general, have not made much use of an excellent archival resource--parish registers. He notes that parish records contain "millions of vital events" which have been recorded through history. Hollingsworth does provide a brief overview of its usages occurring periodically over the years, when he points to a very detailed study done by Roller in 1907 which reconstitutes the lives of the whole population of Durlach, Germany, which totaled 24,342 persons. His method was referred to as genealogisch and parish records were used. Hollingsworth goes on to discuss the works of Morrell, Chevalier, Henry and Fleury.

In 1935 Morrell studied Tudor families, and Hyrenius studied the Swedish population of Estonia for a period of 59 years (Hollingsworth, 1969:159-60). As early as the mid-1940's Chevalier, considered the "father" of recent parish register studies, outlined how historical demographers may make use of the parish registers and advocated their use. The reception of his suggestion was limited. It was not until the mid-1950's that a guide was published by Henry and Fleury in France which explained in detail how the registers may be "dissected" to yield an invaluable and abundant amount of data. One of the main focuses of Fleury and Henry was family reconstitution, which depended upon the names of the parents and/or children of individuals being studied. Possible sources for information on individuals cited in the

manual were baptismal marriage and/or burial records. Unfortunately for English speaking scholars, the manual has not been translated from French. Speaking of the method of family reconstitution, Hollingsworth notes, "It has proved possible, in a remarkable number of instances, to identify individuals in a parish register at many points in their lives and, thus, reconstitute their family history" (1969:157). In 1967 Henry wrote another manual which outlines procedures for testing the quality of the data. As is the case with the manual by Henry and Fleury, this manual also has no English translation. Genealogical studies which have been done in the past have tended to focus primarily upon the upper classes and/or aristocracy because of the easy availability of the records. Little research has been done on lower classes of people.

In his article, "Historical Demography," Henry (1968:385-396) provides a brief historical overview of the utilization of archival data for community analysis. He discusses the current research which may prove to be a breakthrough in the promulgation of archival data as useful. He describes regional studies currently being conducted in France which have a major focus on nominative extraction (identification of people by name) and family reconstitution. In one such study (done by Dupaquier), the procedure of nominative extraction was utilized to obtain a sample for a study of fertility based upon the reconstitution of the families. Dupaquier chose for the study sample all

individuals with last names beginning with the letter "B" and all women with husbands who had names which also begin with the letter "B." At the time of the publication of Henry's article, all data had not been gathered and analyzed; thus, the effectiveness of Dupaquier's method could not be evaluated. This same situation existed for the other studies Henry mentioned. In American research, with the introduction of the computer in data analysis, it has become possible to do genealogies which may examine incidences and directions of genetic transmission of disease characteristics.

Name, although very often not recognized, is of major significance when considering a group, nation, race, etc. Glazer and Moynihan point out that the name associates the person with a certain past race, and/or country (1963:17). Wagley reiterates the importance of name in his discussion of Brazilian society:

Crucial to the traditional Brazilian parentela, and especially to its ancestor-oriented segments, was the system of name transmission. Surnames were the public symbols of membership in a parentela or in an important ancestor-oriented family. (1977:170-71)

Isaacs, quoting Alfred Cobban, writes, "One of the difficulties of the history of ideas . . . is that names are more permanent than things" (1975:46). Isaacs expands upon that point by stating that,

It is clear that quite by itself the name of individual, of group, of nation, of race-- carries a heavy freight of meaning. It is seldom the heart of the matter but it often points directly to where the heart can be found. Making our way through the thickets of reality of group identity problems, we can do worse than to follow where the name alone takes us, for it can lead deep into the history, the relationships, the emotions that make up so much of the present tangle of affairs. (p. 48)

It is precisely that history which is the focus of this paper because this writer hypothesizes that it is in the name of the "Immigrant" that a strong sense of identity with history and ancestry has been maintained. Purely by the name one may be determined to be from the "English," "American" or "Native" group. There are certain distinct names which are associated with each group, and in some instances, purely by one's "apellido," or surname as it translates, one can be told approximately when his or her family arrived to Samana, or at least to the Dominican Republic.

Research in family and marriage, like all other areas of social research, is based upon certain fundamental assumptions. Among those assumptions which have generally been suggested are the following:

1. Behavior in marriage and family is natural social phenomena which have "independent existences" in the "real world";
2. There are patterns and regularities in marriage and family characteristics;
3. The patterns may be discerned through scientific research.

The patterns and regularities in marriage and family characteristics shall be examined in this work. A basic assumption is that mating patterns are classified as a form of normative behavior, and thus may be considered an expression of ethnic identity.

Methods Used in This Research

Essentially this research is genealogical in nature and results in the reconstitution of certain samanesa families through the construction of family trees spanning as many as four to five generations. It is a qualitative piece of research, utilizing the sources of archival research and personal interviews. It reflects a combination of the classical tradition of anthropological field work, sociological community observation and historical demographic family reconstitution.

Population Studied

The population studied consisted of 2718 persons, both living and dead, whose marriage and/or birth records were registered at either Bethel AME or St. Peter's Wesleyan Church or whose names were provided by the informants¹ through sometimes extensive interviews and case histories.

1

See Appendix Three for biographical sketches of the informants.

The interviews provided necessary information to supplement sometimes incomplete pieces of data in the parish records and provided some of the family trees spanning several generations. The interviews also provided general information about past and present life in Samana and among the Immigrants. This gave the researcher a better sense of the history, culture and "human" side of the population under study. The research focuses primarily upon the records of the residents in the municipio Samana. Initial efforts were made to record all of the marriages during a given year, but time limitations and limited access to the records of St. Peter's made that difficult. Thus, for the period 1901 to 1950, data from approximately 80% of the available marriage records were obtained from both churches. During the other periods, a random sampling of Immigrant surnames was conducted. A random sampling of birth records was also gathered from the parish records of both churches. Initially efforts were once again made to record all births during a given year, but the immense number of births and limited time inhibited that effort. The final sample consisted of 1512 cases. Approximately 80% of the total records between 1860 and 1940 were included since it was after that date that this researcher began to run out of time. During other periods approximately 40% to 50% of the records were included. The criterion for inclusion of cases in the sample was that individuals must have had some connection (based upon surname of the at least one parent)

with the Immigrant group. The birth records were also analyzed primarily for further insight into not only marriage choices but also mating choices. Although in many instances the parents of the children never married each other, this researcher believes that the choice of interpersonal interactions may be equally as significant as the marital choices since two families become involved either way.² Additionally, when it is possible to obtain the information, it was interesting to examine the choice for marriage and sexual interactions of mates of the offspring of the various unions. One additional piece of information which may be obtained from some baptismal records is the choice of "padrinos" (godparents). Although this variable is not critical to mating patterns, it may serve as another descriptor variable in future research on the interactional patterns of the Immigrants, i.e., do they remain propinquitous in their choice of padrinos (godparents).

During the actual data analysis, many of the cases could not be used because of insufficient data. Data on the marriages, baptisms and births of the Immigrant group members are currently available; however, because of the age

2

It should be noted that although the father may be listed, not all records indicated "recognized" (father recognizes child although he does not marry the mother). Thus, only those records which indicate "recognized" were considered in this category.

and lack of adequate preservation measures, many of the documents are disintegrating at a rapid pace. Thus, this research is timely because of the probable deterioration of the materials before the end of this century.

From the total population three samples of Immigrants were selected for an analysis of general mating patterns and age related mate selection and for an indepth analysis of the choice of mates in eight Immigrant families. Each person in the sample was designated as a case. There were 623 marriage records and 889 birth records consulted. The majority of the records were from 1880 to 1970, although there were a few scattered entries from 1860 to 1880. The total samples used in the study are provided in Table Two.

TABLE 2: SAMPLE CHARACTERISTICS

CHURCH	MARRIAGES		BIRTHS		PADRINOS
	(N)	With at least one parent provided	(N)	Leg/Rec	
BETHEL	338	43	856	504	14
ST. PETER'S	285	273	33	30	78
TOTAL	623	316	889	534	92
Total cases of marriages and births:	1,512				
Total individuals listed in study:	2,718				

*

Note that in some instances there will be name duplication because several children are often born to one or both of the same parents, and the children of these same parents will sometimes be listed in the marriage registry.

Variables to be Examined

The variables to be analyzed are as follows:

- | | |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| 1. family name | 3. type of endogamy |
| 2. homogamy | 4. residential propinquity |

Family Name. Family name consists of the surname (apellido). In the Dominican Republic the child is officially given the name of both of the parents at birth, so the order of the name indicates maternal and paternal surname. The first surname is that of the father, and in general conversations and most business transactions that name is the one used. The second name is that of the mother, which is written in full or noted with the first letter of the surname in the signatures, e.g., Barrett-Green or Barrett-G. The name is often written in the parish records as it is written above, with a hyphen or will have the word "y" meaning "and," e.g., Barrett y Green, indicating that the child is both a Barrett and Green. When the female is married she will assume the name of her husband and keep the apellido of either her mother or the father. In most instances it is the father's name which is carried into the marriage, but according to some informants, it is the personal choice of the female. The female's married name will have the word "de," meaning "of" in place of the hyphen and her husband's family name follows, e.g., Jones de Vanderhorst. Thus, she is married to a Vanderhorst and is from the Jones family.

Endogamy. Endogamy is measured nominally based upon the marriages within the general Immigrant group. Either a person marries within the group or he/she does not. There are two types of endogamy examined. This researcher differentiates the two in terms of pure endogamy and general endogamy. Pure endogamy is defined as in-marriage with other descendants of the Afro-American group, whereas general endogamy is in-marriage with all of the groups classified as being a part of the Immigrant population, i.e., Afro-English and Afro-French.

Homogamy. Homogamy is determined by the experiential and cultural background of the mates. If the couple is homogamous then the spouses share the same religious and cultural background, values and customs.

Residential Propinquity. Residential propinquity is determined by the geographical location of the spouses and the proximity to each other.

Approach Used in Data Analysis

The data analysis phase of this research is facilitated by the use of a specialized set of computer programs entitled "Family Roots." Developed by Quinsept, "Family Roots" (1985:1-3) has the expressed function of assisting the researcher in the search for historical family information. The program has the following six major capabilities:

1. storage of birth, death, parents, marriage, occupation, offspring and notes for each person. Additional categories may be added e.g., spouse age, residence;
2. printing of several forms of automatically generated genealogical charts for both predecessors and descendants in several forms;
3. provision of formatted outputs of information for the individual records or family groups;
4. production of indices (lists) in a variety of ways, e.g., alphabetical, based upon similar sounds, family name, surname or first name;
5. search for specific information;
6. storage of "massive" amounts of textual data.

Of those six capabilities, the first four were particularly useful in this research. The storage capacity allowed the compilation and output of previously programmed and special researcher created categories of information. The capability to generate lists based upon alphabetization of surname made it possible to cross-check for duplication, a frequent occurrence since so many different cases and sources were involved. The capability for automatically generated genealogical charts allowed the combination of³ records for several generations. The only limitation with

3

Reconstituted family trees for several families are provided in Appendix Two.

this capability is the fact that both of the spouses' genealogies could not be printed together.

Although the primary source of data was parish records, interviews played a critical role in the data collection. Interviewing provides the personal contact, flexibility, and cross-check capacity not offered by raw archival data. Providing an open-ended structure with the probing option often allows the researcher to obtain supplemental information which may provide additional insight into the culture and psychosocial fabric of the group. As Selltiz et al. point out, "In the interview situation, the 'social situation' can be varied" (1967:243). Thus, if objective, the interviewer may observe nonverbal communication--reactions, areas of internal/ethnic group conflict, etc.--which provide additional insight into the culture, ethnic group dynamics, and interethnic relations.

General Limitations to Data Gathering Methods Used in This Research

As one would expect, the methods used in this research have some limitations. First, there are several limitations to the use of parish registers and civil records which span a long period of time. Obviously, one of the major limitations is the margin of human error. It is possible that, for whatever reason considered valid at the time, the records may not reflect the total population or may have spelling, statistical and/or date errors. Additionally,

omissions may have accidentally or intentionally occurred. A second major limitation is that "special populations" which tend to keep rather good records may not be reflective of the total population, and, thus, the findings may not be generalizable. In this research the primary focus is the samanesa community; therefore generalizability of the data for family reconstitution is not as important as the descriptiveness of that reconstitution.

One method used to reduce certain errors was cross-checking the data obtained with other relevant historical data and/or events and with other records on the same individuals if possible. The second method consisted of an analysis of the information obtained in sometimes lengthy conversations with the respondents. From these open-ended interviews, items of information were sometimes validated and missing items may be provided. Also, the interviews enhanced this researcher's understanding of the common views and the feelings of samanesa residents concerning their own ethnicity.

Similar to the use of archival data, the use of the interview technique also has limitations. First, it is crucial that a positive interactional pattern develop between the interviewer and respondent, or there will be no possibilities of rapport existing and the communication will be limited. Additionally, interviews which seek personal/intimate or classified information may hinder communication. In some instances, however, the perceived potential barriers

of the interviewer may not actually exist. Hoffman points that out when she states,

. . . the researcher must be cautious about making a priori assessments of what "ought" to constitute a conflict--suspicion research situation. The will to cooperate cannot be taken for granted, but its absence may be due to factors other than conflict of interest or fear of exposure. Moreover, the individuals are not either trusting or suspicious. They may be frank and open in one instance, evasive and deceptive in another. (1980:56)

Limitations in Data Gathering in This Research

With any research there are certain circumstantially and/or researcher imposed limitations to the study. Discussing the circumstantially imposed limitations first, as indicated in the general discussion of contemporary Samana, statistical data are limited. Thus, it is not possible for this researcher to provide a total Immigrant population for the sake of comparison. Additionally, because the data in the parish records tended to be limited at times, consistent data were not always available. In some instances, because of human error, records were entered into the wrong sections. Marriage records, for example, were entered in sections of the registers which primarily listed births. In other instances, only the father or mother was listed as the "parent" or no age for the spouses was provided in the marriage records. In still other instances, residences and/or occupations of the spouses were not always provided. In general, the older records of St. Peter's Evangelical Church

provided considerably more background information than did those of Bethel AME Church.

Limitations in Data Analysis

There are several limitations regarding the organization and analysis of the data. One major problem was the commonality of the names. Since there is a total integration of religion into the lives of the Immigrants, their daily thoughts and activities often embrace religious themes. Religion guides the socialization process and establishes guidelines for behavior and identification. This is particularly evident in the naming of children. One finds children named after such Biblical characters as Elias, Elijah, Elisha, Jacob, John, Maria Virgen, Maria, Samuel, Obediah, Joseph, Joshua, and Ezekiel. Additionally, one finds names which signify such positive themes as beauty, love, purity, liberty: Libertad (liberty), Amores (love), Inocencia/Inocencio (innocence), Bienvenido (welcome), Encarnaciona (incarnation).

Because of this tendency to use Biblical names, there is a tremendous repetition of names. One finds, for example, six John (Juan) Joneses and eight Andrew (Andres) Johnsons. Lack of information concerning parentage, age or birthdate, in many instances, made it impossible to cross check for duplication. Thus, without a doubt, there is some duplication in the name sampling of the Immigrants. In an

effort to reduce the margin of error, this researcher made certain assumptions while analyzing the names. Those assumptions were as follows:

Assumption I

If the birthdate corresponds approximately with the age at marriage or death and the name is not extremely common, it is assumed that the child listed in the birth record is the same as the adult listed in the marriage/death record.

The problem arises when there are several people with the same name, and who have been born within the same two to three year period. This did happen in several instances, and in those cases no correlation could be made. Additionally, the difficulty is compounded when the person has two common first names, e.g., Juan Jose Jones. As mentioned above, if there are six John (Juan) Joneses and seven Jose Joneses, then each name must be checked. So also must names with Juan or Jose included as a part of the total name. Another problem in documentation arises because during the early twentieth century records were not always kept, and the person may not know his/her actual birthdate and age. Thus, when an age was reported, it may have been "off" by a few years.

Assumption II

First marriages tended to occur between the ages of 15 and 21 years for females and 17 and 25 years for males. The predominant ages for both are seventeen to twenty-one. Additionally, first child births tend to occur within one to two years of marriage. Therefore, if the parents listed on the birth record correspond with the marriage date within one to two years, it is assumed that the couple married are the parents.

Obviously, several problems arise in making this assumption, and when there is sufficient uncertainty, the connection is not made. One very real problem is the possibility of one parent's marrying a person other than the other parent of the child during the two year period. Another problem is the parents marrying after the birth of two or three children. In one instance, the mating couple had three or four children and then married after most of the children were adults. A third problem is the same man fathering several children by several different women. Because there are several women involved, there is a good possibility that the children could be born within months of each other. Therefore, in the birth records there may be, for example, Tomas Sidney (a fictitious name) listed as father three times in two years with three different mates. The assumption that this is the same man cannot be made unless there is additional supporting evidence. Consequently, the true genealogy of Tomas Sidney cannot be determined. A fourth problem is the length of fertility of the man. The assumption may be made that after the woman reaches her mid-forties, she probably can no longer be the mother of the child. This is not the case for the man. There is one instance, for example, in which a man aged 52 married a lady aged 30 and the couple had a child within two years of marriage. A fifth problem is the failure of the records to list either the mother's full name (usually only first names were given) or the total omission of her name.

Assumption III

Marriage occurring when the spouse is over 35 years of age may possibly be a second or subsequent marriage.

Based upon the trend of first marriage for the spouses occurring in the late teens or early twenties, the fact that the mortality rate earlier in the 20th century was relatively high (particularly for childbearing aged females) and divorce was/is permitted, there is the likelihood that by age 35 the person had experienced at least one death of or divorce from a spouse.

Assumption IV

Because of the multiple names of many people (birth name may be different from baptism name which may be different from nickname) and the fact that the different names may be used in the official records, if there are similarities in the last name, approximate birthdate, parent names or marriage dates and/or spouse, it is assumed that the other names listed in the records for a person fall under one of the above mentioned "name categories."

This becomes particularly problematic with the common first and last names, e.g., Elias Johnson. In those instances, although there may be some evidence to support the assumption that the person listed in the various records is the same person, several factors must be considered since one cannot automatically assume that because the last names correspond it is the same person. Most Immigrant last names are common, and there tends to be considerable interaction and marriage with certain families, e.g., the Green families tend to be very popular.

Assumption V

When the information is entered into the records, the names may either be listed in the English form or the Spanish form, e.g., Juan = John, Thomas = Tomas, Mathew = Mateo.

Thus, the cross-checking involves checking both types of names, plus any closely sounding names. Additionally, the spelling may either be Spanish, French, English, or phonetic; e.g., Boyer in French is pronounced the same way as Boller in Spanish, and there were instances of both in the records.

CHAPTER FIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE DATA-- THE SAMANESAN FAMILY

One of the primary functions of the family as an institution is placement of the members into the social structure. In one of his chapters, Ali A. Mazrui, author of A World Federation of Cultures: An African Perspective (1976), discusses monogamy, descent and status in black relations. He suggests that in biocultural assimilation there are two major concepts which are important in race relations: acculturation and miscegenation. Acculturation may be symmetrical, meaning that there is a two-way exchange of cultural components between the white culture and the black culture; or it may be asymmetrical, meaning that there is only unidirectional movement. This movement may be either toward the receiving white group, where the black group influences the host, or it may be the more common form in which the black group assumes the culture of the white group. As is the case with acculturation, there may be both symmetrical and asymmetrical miscegenation. In symmetrical miscegenation both groups intermarry, producing a comparable number of men and women who cross the racial boundaries to seek partners. Traditionally the more prevalent form of marital miscegenation has been asymmetrical miscegenation where, in relative terms, a larger number of persons

(particularly males) of the minority black group marry members of the majority non-black group. Although acknowledging miscegenation, Mazrui cautions that

we must again remind ourselves that acculturation and intermarriage do not necessarily result in social intermingling between the races or even in a system of desegregation. It very much depends upon the precise system of descent observed by the races in question, and the general racial attitudes of the dominant race in a particular society. (1976:89)

He goes on to discuss several models which have emerged in the miscegenation process. The first is the North American (Afro-Saxon) model. It is the descending miscegenation in which the mating results in the offspring assuming the blood line and status of the lower group. Since blood purity is the key variable and there is some black blood, the person is Black and must assume the position of the lower, meaning Black, status. The second model, the Latin American (Afro-Latin) model, is ambivalent miscegenation in which another group of people is formed which may have varied life opportunities. The mating of a person of color and a White in Brazil, for example, results in a mestizo or mulatto. The relative privileges of the offspring are greatly influenced by the color of the child. He/She may enjoy the same rights as other Whites, or may be relegated to the rights of the black population. The third model, the South African (Afro-Afrikaner) model, is divergent miscegenation in which, similar to the Latin American model,

a new group is formed from the mating of the two groups. Unlike the Latin American model, members are not able to move up into the level of status of Whites, nor do they descend to the status of Blacks. They have many cultural components of the white South African culture, but are considered a distinct group. The fourth model, the Arab (Afro-Arab) model, automatically places the offspring of the union into the category of the Arab father. Thus, the child is also Arab and, regardless of the number of subsequent cross marriages between the Arab sons and non-Arab wives, the offspring will remain classified as Arab. The Dominican society essentially follows the Latin American model in the sense that there are various racial categories of people in the Dominican Republic. The designation of an individual is both a social and individual choice (i.e., the individual may choose to classify himself/herself as a member of one category; and/or society may place the individual in that category). The self designation and the societal designation may not always coincide, but generally the legally recognized classification is based upon self-declaration. The racial designation signifies the degree of Indian, African, or Spanish blood acknowledged by the individual, or phenotypically evident in that individual. Among the samanesa and in other areas where there are large concentrations of Immigrants, the general Latin American model does not apply. If one were to place the behavioral patterns of the samanesa community into one model it would

most likely be placed in a modified Afro-Arab model for those Natives and Immigrants who intermarry. A case study analysis of the mating patterns of twenty-one samanesa families will reveal that the interactional patterns resulting from status ascription and spatial factors may often affect the degree of endogamy or exogamy.

Gordon, while developing a theoretical system for the analysis of intergroup relations, proposed that, in fact, the concept "assimilation" is an umbrella concept, and that different types of assimilation actually exist (1974:92). The major assimilation types are behavioral and structural. "Behavioral assimilation" refers to the absorption of cultural behaviors of the host group by the immigrant group.

Gordon suggests that it should be more accurately be termed acculturation. "Structural assimilation" refers to the involvement of the immigrants in the social institutions and organizations of the host culture. Gordon suggests that if the structural assimilation occurs long enough, there is the occurrence of intermarriage between the host group and the immigrant group. This is particularly true if the nature of the relationships which have resulted from that assimilation is primary rather than secondary. With the samenesa Immigrant group one finds a pattern of assimilation somewhat different from that proposed by Gordon. In this case one does find some common experiences which have resulted in the development of a common base for both the Native and Immigrant descendants. This is a normal characteristic of

culture, in that it is through the establishment of common experiences that certain regulatory behaviors and activities and a common identification emerge. Depending upon the society there may be strict interactional restrictions, although there are still opportunities for the development of a common experiential base. In other societies there are opportunities for close relationships between natives and immigrants on many levels, to include family activity involvement, e.g., parties, ceremonies, and combined church activities.

Systems of Identification Among the Immigrants

To an extent the existence of the samanesa enclave, similar to the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County, North Carolina, challenges some of the sociological and anthropological postulates which suggest the need for a body of distinct cultural components, isolation and conflict, and the presence of some type of formal organization to hold the ethnic group together. For the Lumbee, it is the shared conception of themselves as a "people" rather than formal organization and distinctive cultural artifacts which hold them together. With the exception of the AME Church, and a few special dishes, the samanesa Immigrants do not have many cultural artifacts which are indigenously "Immigrant." They have no formal organizations which are limited to the Immigrants, even when in reality Immigrant presence may

predominate. Technically even in the institution which has historically belonged to the Immigrants, the AME and Evangelical Churches, anyone may participate in the activities and services. Likewise, the Immigrants may, and do, participate in the activities of the institution historically associated with the "Natives," the Catholic Church. Yet, in certain aspects of the Immigrants' lives there is a strong sense of ethnic boundary and homogamy. The homogamy exists in several spheres. It exists in the religious experience in that the Immigrants and the Natives have certain identifiable religious institutions, although there are the institutional and social interactions. It exists in the residential patterns in that there are certain areas identifiably "Immigrant or Native" since each respective group has traditionally resided there (e.g., Los Algarobos, Honduras).

For the Immigrant family of Samana, similar to many other strongly ethnic groups (e.g., Jews, Italians), ancestral identification and boundary maintenance are very strong. An important part of ancestral identification is communal identification with existing peoples from other parts of the world with common ancestral ties.

Eshleman (1969) points out that with support and reinforcement, nicknames, school songs and secret codes are important in the establishment of group identity.

The gestures, symbols and language understood by others indicate that "they are like us and we are like them . . ." Encompassed under the heading of reference groups, an individual tends to conform to the general patterns and expectations that are associated with various groups such as family, church, peers and school. The reference groups of the individual may include membership groups and groups to which the individual aspires to belong. Thus the family or the church is a reference group only insofar as it is used as a standard for conduct, as a basis for self-evaluation, or as a source of attitudes. (p. 31)

Among the Immigrants, communal identification is very strong. In the AME Church of Los Algarrobos this researcher was welcomed with open arms as a sister. The trustee (assistant pastor for the rural chapel) explained that the community is always happy to receive "their people" from the motherland. While recognizing the United States as their "motherland," the Immigrants also recognize that they, like all other Blacks in the U.S., are actually descendants of Africa. Thus, Africa is the "Supreme Motherland" (this researcher's words). Through endogamy, a variable which tends to be strong in most persistent cultural systems, this ethnic identification has remained in the forefront.

The ethnic boundaries of Immigrants in general are maintained through language and, as previously mentioned, through the choice of mates and, thus, intergenerational name transmission.

Language

Language represents a distinctiveness; moreover, the extent of the desire for distinctiveness often determines the amount and the manner in which the language is used. In a study conducted in Russia, Gantskaja and Terent'eva (1978:153) note that some families living in the multinational areas do engage in intermarriages and have a family atmosphere in which children adopt a language which may be of one parent, but may not be the language spoken in the home. Alternately, the children may choose a third language which is that of neither of the parents and is not spoken in the home. In a similar manner, among the Immigrants of Samana, in the home it is not uncommon to observe English being spoken by the parents and Spanish, the language which is not of the Immigrant group, being spoken by the children. For the Afro-American descendant Immigrants, English has always been considered an important element in the identification with their heritage. In Honduras and Los Algarrobos, two secciones of Samana, one finds, for example, older people who refuse to use Spanish because it was not the language of their ancestors. As one elderly gentleman explained to this researcher, "I don't know no Spanish because I'm not Spanish. I'm American" (J. Shepherd, 1985). On another occasion this same gentleman explained "I don't like to speak Spanish." When asked what was his language he responded, "The one we talk," which was

English. The "we" was collective and included this researcher as well as the informants being interviewed. Of course, after more than one hundred and sixty years of exposure to Spanish it would be ludicrous to assume that they do not understand or cannot speak Spanish. They merely choose to negate the importance of Spanish. The negation is not as strong among the children.

The persistent use of English has been problematic at times. In La Romana, for example, an area with not a very strong Immigrant community, some of the people have opted not to use English since the language was associated with the migratory cane cutters from the British West Indies. One informant's brother forbade the use of English in his home (he was married to a Native) and dictated to his sister that, if anything happened to him, she was not to teach his children English. When he died, his sister followed her brother's orders, much to the later chagrin of his children who questioned the aunt as to why she did not teach them "such an important language when they were children." They chose to learn the language as adults and now have a competitive edge over other Dominicans in certain jobs. The disdain among some of the Natives for the English language was sometimes expressed in a teasing way among the Natives even in Samana. As one informant explained, when he was in school he and a few friends tended to use English, but they were forced to use it only when speaking among Immigrants because they were frequently teased for speaking

"gweedy-gweedy."¹ Interestingly enough, probably as a result of the increased contact with the United States and Canada, there is now admiration for and a desire to learn English among the Natives.

Traditionally in the home English had been spoken until the child began school. Even in the schools during the early 1900's English was taught. According to Mrs. Felander Nunez de Shepherd, when she was in school daily classes in the morning were taught in Spanish and those in the afternoon were taught in English. This is not the current practice so once a child enters school, and is exposed to the larger samanesa community, Spanish begins to supplement, and in some instances to supplant, the English. Parents acknowledged that over the course of years they found themselves speaking more Spanish, and emphasizing English less, although they still want the children to know English and in the words of Celina Willmore de Coplin (1985) "English language like chicken who got wings, when chicken get in trouble it flaps its wings and flies." Analogously, when things are difficult the Immigrants return to their English. They will periodically still speak English among themselves.

1

The correct spelling of the expression is not known. This researcher spelled it phonetically.

Name

In general the family name is extremely important for the samanesa Immigrant; and the degree of endogamy serves as an indicator of its importance in individual families. Provided the person is not of the same immediate family, the Immigrant group does not place any restriction on choice of mates with the same surname. Perhaps because of the relatively small number in the Immigrant group along with the commonality of the names, one does find a Johnson marrying another Johnson, or a Furchue married to the child of a Furchue. In these cases the spouses are not usually close kin.

In 1824 when the group of Immigrants was dispersed throughout the country, two hundred families carrying thirty-three names were sent to Samana. Those names were as follows:

Anderson	Hamilton	Mitchell
Banks	Handsburry	Paul
Barrett	Henderson	Redman
Berry	Hilton	Rodney
Buck	James	Shepherd
Carey	Jackson	Sidney
Coats	Johnson	Simmons
Copeland	Jones	Smith
Dishmey	Kelly	Vanderhorst
Furchue	King	Willmore
Green	Miller	Wright

With pride in his voice, Rev. Nehemiah Willmore (1984) explains:

Of all these surnames, the only one that lost its original identity is the one,

Copeland, who were situated in the City of Puerto Plata . . . which, as has been said, all our people that were situated in that place lost their identity, mixed with the Spanish people and lost their names and customs.

For the Immigrants of Samana, the family has served as the major supporter of identity, with the church serving as a complementary reinforcer. The family, as the provider of group and individual status, has maintained its identity through name transmission. The latter sections of this chapter shall examine name transmission through the analysis of marriages and the choice of mates in the process of procreation. Where appropriate, mention will be made as to the "legal status" of the partners involved.

Surname Retention and Ethnic Identification Among 2 Immigrants

Analysis of Variables

Culture. The Afro-American Immigrants of the Dominican Republic are at the same time both unique and part of a larger Afro-American diaspora. For example, currently living in Freetown, Sierra Leone and Nova Scotia are similar small enclaves of former slaves freed by the British early in the 1800's and who are able to trace their lineage from

2
Before beginning the discussion of the mating patterns of the Immigrants, the reader should be reminded of the limitations in data analysis discussed in Chapter Three.

the original immigrants to their present population (Cohen, 1981:306-331).

Actually one may speak of two groups of Immigrants living in Samana. There are many samanesa who will acknowledge that they are of the Immigrant stock in that a grandparent or parent was a direct descendant. There are other families which remain basically "pure bred" Immigrant. Interestingly enough, although general ethnocentrism exists, among the Immigrants, there is a higher degree of ethnocentrism within the "pure bred" Immigrant group. "Our ancestors brought the customs from over there. They taught us good customs" (F. Nunez de Shepherd, 1985). When asked which customs were the "good customs," the most commonly cited one was religion. As previously mentioned, religion forms the bastion for the Immigrants. The source for recreation, education, emotional and economic support was often the church.

Yet the ethnocentric views have not hindered inter-ethnic interactions. Interestingly, other non-Immigrant samanesa will readily acknowledge that the arrival and continued presence of the Immigrants in general have enhanced the cultural and economic growth of Samana. Some residents suggest that were it not for the Immigrants "Samana would be nowhere near to where it is now." Mrs. Celina Willmore de Coplin and other Immigrants (e.g., McKenzie, S. Jones) explain that the Immigrants have served as teachers to the Natives, and the original schools

established in Samana were established by the Immigrants through the AME and Wesleyan Churches. It would be interesting to research the source of these opinions about the contributions of the Immigrants to the cultural evolution of Samana to discover whether they are the results of the Immigrant ancestors' comments or whether the assessments are made purely based upon measurable data.

Name. As mentioned previously in this chapter, name may play an important part in the identity of an ethnic group. For the Immigrants, the name is particularly significant. Very often a child is named after one of the parents or other relatives, and, unlike in the United States, there is no particular imbalance between the naming of children after the mother or the father. There are many instances of daughters being named after the mother as well as the female form of the father's name, e.g., Tomasa for Tomas, Georgina for George, Angelina for Angel, or Justina for Justin.

Without a doubt some of the names have been passed down for centuries, and were some of the same names assigned to slaves in the United States prior to the 1700's. In the Book of Black Names, Heller and Puckett list a sampling of sixty-five names assigned to slaves prior to the 1700's which were collected from New York (27), Virginia (36) and Maryland (2). Heller and Puckett point out that in the original group of slaves brought to Virginia in 1619 there were three Anthonys, two Johns, one Angelo, Isabella,

William, Frances, Margaret and Edward. Each one of these names of slaves has traditionally been found among the Immigrant population (1975:7).

In Samana it is particularly interesting to note the changes in the spelling of the names of the Immigrants. One may, by noticing the gradual spelling change and transformation from English to Spanish, learn more about the history and influences in the lives of the Immigrants. To an extent this shift may be an indication of gradual acceptance of parts of the Dominican culture. It should be noted that the acceptance has not always been by choice, and, in some instances, the informants were quick to tell this researcher that the spelling entered into the records was not the proper spelling of the name of that person. Mrs. Celina Willmore de Coplin explained the problem encountered by her sister because of incorrect data entry in the court files. "They changed her name in the Office. She didn't like it, but couldn't change it because it costs too much." Thus, rather than having her legal name Laura Jane which is her birth name, she is registered as Laura Eugenia. Another informant explained that "a lot they [Natives and illiterate Immigrants] put in the book is bad because they don't know how to read and write English." Some problems did develop as a result of the different spellings. If, for example, the child was named Irene by the parents, but the name was entered in the records as Yrena, then technically the person has the name Yrena not Irene and all legal documents must

reflect the Spanish form of the name. Very good examples of the tendency to translate English names into Spanish names may be illustrated with the names John (Juan), Catherine (Catalina), Mary (Maria), Mary Jane (Maria Juana), and the surname King (Reyes).

There are several contributing factors to the transformation in names. One major factor may have been the high degree of illiteracy in the population. It appears that the names were often written phonetically. In some instances, when this researcher asked the informant to spell the name of one of his/her relatives the informant, after an obvious struggle, could not do it. A second factor may be the fact that the court clerk was Spanish, and he/she automatically translated the name to that spelling with which he/she was most familiar. A third factor is the error in recording by the official making the entry. In a few instances, for example, the surname Redman was signed by the person possessing the name with the spelling REDMAN; however, the recorder writing the name directly above that of the signer spelled it REDDING. No explanation can be offered for the change unless the recorder considered it misspelled. In other instances, the owner of the surname signed in the English form, but the recorder wrote the Spanish form directly above that signature. Therefore, over the course of time one finds, for example, that in addition to the original spelling of the surname Furchue, the surname is spelled Ferchue, Fourchue, Forchue, Forchu, Furchu, and

Fochu. Other surnames went through similar changes as
³
 illustrated below.

Copeland	-	Copelin	Coplain	Carey	-	Cary	Kerry
		Coplin	Copeline			Kery	Karey
		Coplen					
Kelly	-	Quelli	Quelly	Metiviere	-	Metivies	
		Kely	Kelley			Metivier	

The variations in the spelling of the surnames often occurred within the same family and in the same record. For example, one of the informants indicated that his name was spelled BARETT, whereas his father's name was spelled BARRETT, and a paternal second cousin's name was spelled BARRET. Additionally, when two people with the same surname married, one may have a different spelling from the other, e.g., Jonson marrying a Johnson or Jhonson, when it is clear that the original apellido was the same.

General Mating Patterns

In an effort to determine whether there is a direct relationship between endogamy and ethnic identity, a random sample (N=330) of the total cases between the years 1910 and 1980 used in this study was collected for an analysis of general Immigrant family mating patterns. A sub-sample of 63 couples was chosen which examined ethnic categories of

spouses. The criterion used for placement of the names into the sub-sample was that both maternal and paternal surnames must be given for both spouses. Most couples were married; however, in some instances "common-law" marriage was assumed to exist. The basis for the "common-law" status was the recorded "natural but recognized" status of the child and the fact that the couple had more than two children together. Presented in Tables three and four are the findings for the 63 couples (52 of which had purely Immigrant ancestry) in the sub-sample, and the total sample of 330 cases.

The reader should note that in Table Three and subsequent tables the term Immigrant is used to designate descendants of the Afro-American, Afro-English, and Afro-French groups with the Immigrant apellidos. The term "mixed" is applied to individuals with the apellido of one Immigrant parent and one Native (or mixed Native and Immigrant) parent, and the designation Native indicates that both parents have Native apellidos.

TABLE 3: ETHNIC CATEGORY OF MATES OF IMMIGRANTS
(N=52 COUPLES WITH ONE SPOUSE PURE IMMIGRANT)

ETHNIC CATEGORY	NUMBER
Immigrant*	24
Mixed	21
Native	7

*

Note that the Immigrants included the names Metivier (13) and Boyer (9) which were probably originally of the Afro-French group, but have merged with the American and English groups.

TABLE 4: CHOICE OF MATE BY SEX BASED UPON
ETHNIC CATEGORY (N=63 COUPLES)

WIFE	HUSBAND		
	Immigrants	Mixed	Native
Immigrant	24	12	1
Mixed	9	5	1
Native	6	5	n.a.

*

Note that of the total 32 mixed spouses, 19 had Native mothers.

Based upon the data presented, there appears to be a decided difference between the sexes in the tendency toward intermarriage. When intermarriage occurs, it appears that

the female Immigrants and Natives (N=24) predominate among those who crossed the ethnic boundaries and married either a member of the "mixed" or the opposite ethnic category. Even in those instances when the person had mixed parentage, the "Native" mother generally crossed more often than the Immigrant mother (see note in Table Four). Since females have the primary responsibility for socialization, it would be logical that the maintenance and preservation of the culture would be determined by the ethnicity of the mother. The potential negative impact of that in the Immigrant family is somewhat balanced by the fact that in Samana, and especially among the Immigrants, the male children tend to live very close to their parents. This means that the grandparents become important actors in the socialization process. Additionally, the females are generally young at the time of marriage. They finish their "education in wifing and mothering" in the environment of their in-laws.

In terms of mate selection there seem to be some patterns of family choice. In the 330 cases sampled there were 10 persons (9 Immigrants and 1 Native) who had both the mother's and father's name the same. The most common names were as follows:

Green-Green - 3

Kelly-Kelly - 3

Johnson-Johnson - 1

King-King - 1

Shepherd-Shepherd - 1

There were eight Immigrant couples and one Native couple who had at least one last name exactly the same. One couple had exactly the same family name (Green-Green), i.e., each spouse had identical apellidos for both parents. Among all of the native surnames, the names Medina, Acosta, Figaro, Alcala, Santos and Geronimno (Jeronimo, Heronimo) appear most frequently. Although the Immigrants still differentiate the names as being of the "Natives," in one sense the names Medina and Acosta have virtually become added to the list of "Immigrant names" because they recur so often. When this researcher encountered an Acosta or Medina, there was little (except possibly skin tone in some instances) which was distinguishably different in the manner of speech, food, lifestyle, etc., from the Immigrants. This statement must be qualified because it is based upon limited exposure.

Among the 165 couples sampled there were fifteen spouses who had mixed parentage in that the father was of Native ancestry. The breakdown by sex revealed six wives with native fathers and nine husbands with native fathers. One of the husbands was natural (born out of wedlock).

In another sub-sample of 88 couples who did not marry but did procreate, there were 29 who were mixed and 54 who were Immigrant. The remaining five were Native. The mixed couples consisted of 24 couples with one Native spouse. Three of those were Native and French, and the other 21 were

Native and Immigrant. There were five Immigrant and Afro-French unions.

The endogamous nature of the group seems to be maintained even among some of the Immigrants who left the Samana area, and even for those who left the Dominican Republic. Within the family of one of the major informants, for example, there were two children (one male and one female) who lived in foreign countries. Both of them "returned home" for spouses. In the case of the female, the spouse had been living in a foreign country but was from Samana. In the case of the male, who himself was living in South America, the spouse was living in Samana and he returned to marry her. As would be expected, there seems to have been an inverse relationship between the length of time of the residency away from the Dominican Republic and homogamy. The longer the individual lives in another country (especially the United States), the more likely the person will choose a spouse from the host country. What would be interesting to research is whether the choice of mates is Black or White. A cursory look suggests that the choice still remains ancestrally homogenous.

Leslie notes that studies have shown that in the United States interracial marriages have tended to have spouses older than the homogenous marriages, and in many instances the spouses have been married before (1976:536). Since it would be interesting to research the relationship between age and previous marital status in terms of marriage outside

of the Immigrant group, a sample of 38 couples with at least one spouse over the age of 40 was chosen. It was found that the generalizability of the findings in the United States, and, thus, the hypothesis that older spouses were more likely to intermarry, could not be substantiated in this sample. Consistent with the younger population, the spouses tended to marry within their own ethnic group. Once again when there was intermarriage, it was generally the female who was of another group, and it appeared that in general the older males married considerably younger females.

The mating patterns of the Immigrants do, however, support the Presser (1975) hypotheses that

1. first marriages tend to be between spouses of approximately the same age group; and
2. "...a previous marriage of one or both spouses increases the likelihood of a deviant age difference between spouses" (p. 193).

She goes on to explain that, "facilitating this deviance is the fact that previously married people generally are older than never-married people and have a wider range of younger people to choose from" (p. 193). Tables Five, Six and Seven which follow summarize the findings.

TABLE 5: MARITAL CHOICE WHEN ONE SPOUSE
IS OVER 40 YEARS OF AGE (N=38)

OVER 40 YEARS OF AGE	ETHNIC CATEGORY		
	Immigrant	Mixed	Native
Male	27	1	0
Female	10	0	0

TABLE 6: SAMPLE AGES OF COUPLES AT MARRIAGE WHEN
ONE IMMIGRANT SPOUSE 35+ YEARS OF AGE
(N=34)

IMMIGRANT HUSBAND	Immig. Hus. Wife	Nat. Hus. Wife	Mixed Hus. Wife
	49	60#	35# 51# 0
	40	40	18 35#
	75	84#	29 39
	50	62	22 48
	25	41	30 40
	22	48	56 62#
	28	54	31 38
	33	44#	44 47
	29	44#	
	30	44#	
	26	41	
	30	53#	
	31	40	
	25	48	
	28	49	
	44	55#	
	21	42	
	50	62	
	41#	60	
	36#	54	
	31	52	
IMMIGRANT WIFE	Immig. Wife Hus.	Nat. Wife Hus.	Mixed Wife Hus.
		39 27	
	See above	40 31	
		60 53	0
		38 17	
		53 47	
# Remarriage for the spouse.			

TABLE 7: SAMPLE OF ETHNIC CATEGORIES OF COUPLE WHEN
HUSBAND 10+ YEARS OLDER THAN WIFE
(N=30)

WIFE	Immigrant	HUSBAND Mixed	Native
Immigrant	16	0	5
Mixed	0	0	0
Native	8	0	1

Selected Case Studies

Forty-seven families were selected for an indepth study of marital choices through at least two generations. The choices were based solely upon the availability of data on several generations. There were seven families with two spouses and six with three or more spouses in one generation. There were nineteen families with two or three spouses in two generations, fourteen families with four or more spouses in two generations, two with three generations of spouses, and one with four generations. Although not included as a part of the indepth analysis, certain observations will be made and statistics included of a few families with only one generation provided. In these instances, several siblings were listed with their

respective spouses also mentioned. Following the discussion of the two generation families will be a discussion of three or more generation families.

In an examination of a subsample of 21 familial names (surnames) there were 146 marriages with 118 of those marriages between Immigrants and 28 between an Immigrant and a Native. Of the 21 familial names (eighteen American, one English and two French) examined as case studies, only 16 families had instances of intermarriage. There were several marriages between French and American, but no instances of French-English unions. Metiviere (4) was the most common French name and Medina (4) and Mejia (3) were the most common Native names. The English familial names (consisting of Ray, McKenzie, and Phipps) as a whole tended to have spouses from all three groups. The Ray family, with two marriages provided, had one marriage with an English spouse and one with a Native. The Phipps family, with five marriages, had married only with the Immigrants while the McKenzies married English and Natives. The family with the French name of Capois tended to marry only Immigrants, but the Metivieres, with four marriages, split evenly between Natives and Americans. Table Eight summarizes the tendency toward endogamy within those families.

TABLE 8: ENDOGAMOUS TENDENCIES IN CHOICE OF
SPOUSES IN 21 FAMILY LINKAGES

IMMIGRANT Family Name	SPOUSE CHOICE	
	Immigrant	Native
Anderson	12	4
Adams	2	2
Boyer	2	1
Buck	4	0
Capois	4	0
Dishmey	11	1
Furchue	1	1
Green	4	0
Hilton	11	4
Johnson	5	3
Jones	7	0
Kelly	16	3
King	6	1
McKenzie	2	1
Metiviere	2	2
Miller	6	1
Phipps	5	0
Ray	1	1
Redman	8	2
Shepherd	7	1
Willmore	2	0
<hr/>		
TOTAL	118	28
<hr/>		

Among the members of the John Franklin Willmore family there are four generations of marriages, and a total of 18 marriages available for study. There were purely American Immigrant marriages in the first two generations (N=3 marriages). During the third generation variations began to appear. Of the ten marriages in this generation,

there were three male Willmores who married Natives; one Willmore female who married a Black (U.S.) American and two Willmore females who married English. The remaining three male and one female Willmore married American Immigrants. The fourth generation revealed seven marriages. The spouses consisted of two Native females, one female English, and two Willmores who did not have the full names of their spouses. One of the male children married twice, the first time to an American and the second time to a "White."⁴

There are several human interest bits of information which can be shared about the Willmore family and which may provide a better picture of some of the dynamics of familial ethnic identity. As mentioned previously in the discussion of language, for some Immigrants living in areas outside of Samana the English language remained an essentially clan-destine language. It is interesting to note that the brother who forbade his sister to teach his children English married a Native rather than an Immigrant, suggesting a lessening of ethnic identity. A second interesting point is the fact that both the parents of Diana Green and Joshua Willmore had the same first names of John and Anne Jane. A third point is that there is a strong indication that at least until the early part of the 1900's there were known

4

It is not known whether the wife is, in fact, Caucasian or whether she is merely what Dominicans classify as "White" which include light skinned people of color.

surviving relatives in Philadelphia, and communication was maintained. Reportedly an uncle in Philadelphia sent greetings to his family in Samana via a visiting missionary.

None of the family currently knows of any family members still residing in Philadelphia. Another piece of information is the fact that among the Immigrants a characteristic of the Green side of the Willmore family is the raised moles which appear, according to Celina Willmore de Coplin, regularly on the skin, particularly under the eyes of the descendants. The effect of this "characteristic" is that anyone with such moles on his/her face is questioned about ancestry in an effort to find more family. A last piece of information is the suggestion that the Immigrant John F. Willmore was White. At the time of the interview this point was not pursued by this researcher. What may have been meant by the informant was that John F. Willmore was a very fair skinned black man. The very fair skinned Blacks are often referred to as either "claro" (clear) or "blanco" (white) in the Dominican racial classification system. Reportedly Mr. Willmore married a very "African" (words of the informant) lady, resulting in the production of darker skinned children.

A few interesting, but perhaps not very significant observations concerning the Immigrant nuptiality patterns are provided below for the sake of information.

1. Feliciano Paula Ampara married Jose Green. Their daughter, Paula Green Ampara, married another person named Jose Green. Thus both parents and children have essentially the same names.
2. Two Ellen Kings married two males with the name Wesley. In 1904 Ellen King married John Wesley Kelly. In 1919 Ellen King married Wesley Barrett. There are no data which could support or refute the possibility that both Ellen Kings are the same person.
3. Two unusual names reappeared exactly in the same form approximately one and a half century apart respectively. Tabaitha Ann Jones was born in the 1860's; and Tabaitha Ann Jones was born in the 1950's. One Ramon Virgilio Green-Green was born in the 1920's and the other was born in the 1970's.
4. In the Simon and Shepherd families there were three generations with a son possessing the same name - Jacob Shepherd and Peter Simmon.

5

Case Studies of Eight Immigrant Families

Among the sample of familial names with a considerable number of marriages available (N=8) the predominating names in the intermarriages, the number of intermarriages, and the number of different apellidos (surnames) are summarized in Table Nine. The most common names among all of the eight familial names choosing spouses were Johnson (4), Kelly (6), King (5), and Vanderhorst (6). It is significant to note that the Dishmeyer family had one of twelve marriages with a Native, and none of the others had more than a 4:1 ratio of Immigrants to Natives. Most families had over a 6:1 ratio.

TABLE 9: FREQUENCY AND NATURE OF INTERMARRIAGES
AMONG EIGHT FAMILIES

FAMILY NAME	TOTAL MARRIAGES	NUMBER INTERMARRIAGE	PREDOMINANT FAMILY *	NUMBER ENGLISH
(frequency)				
Anderson	16	4	Vanderhorst (4) Kelly (2)	1
Dishmey	12	1	Anderson (3) Barrett (2) Kelly (2)	0
Hilton	12	3	Metiviere (2)	1
Kelly	19	3	Johnson (4) Figaro (2) Solomon (2)	2
Redman	10	2	Kelly (2)	0
Shepherd	9	2	King (2)	0
Jones	7	0	King (3)	0
Vanderhorst	17	8	Miguel (2)	1
TOTALS	92	23		5

*

Note that frequency is shown only when family name appears more than one time.

In the three generations of the Wishingham Jones family with spouse data available there were eight marriages. None of the marriages were with non-Immigrants, although one was with a non-American Immigrant. In that instance the marriage was the second for the Jones male. In the Wishingham Jones family which had three generations of marriages, every

generation married a King. Two of the three generations married a male King. It is not known whether the Kings and Jones were related.

In the Vanderhorst family, there were two marriages between a Vanderhorst male and a Miguel female. Based upon the available data, it was impossible to ascertain whether or not the two Miguel females were related. The infrequency of the name suggests that there may have been some blood ties. The Vanderhorst males were father and son, and the Miguel marriage for the father was his second, occurring later in life. In the second generation Miguel/Vanderhorst union, the son married an Immigrant. Interestingly enough, although the mother was Native and the father was Immigrant, the child returned to the Immigrants for a spouse. Within the Vanderhorst family, the second generation showed several intermarriages between both Natives and English. Among the Adams (English Immigrant)/Vanderhorst (American Immigrant) unions, three of the four children married Natives. The Silverberg/Vanderhorst union had one child who married an English Immigrant named O'Neale. Of the Barrett/Vanderhorst union, two of the five children married Natives and two married Immigrants. One of the daughters married a Native first and remarried an Immigrant.

An important point to be made when discussing the families and the marital choices is the fact that although there were some intrafamilial marriages, in general this

type of marriage was frowned upon by the Immigrant community. In one instance, two rather close cousins married in the Willmore family. The family informant, Celina Willmore de Coplin, stated that the family was very upset about the planned marriage, and everyone tried to convince them to choose other spouses; however, in the words of the informant, "Being young, they wouldn't listen." They have since divorced, and it was conveyed nonverbally, by tone of voice and actions of the informant, that the final result was predictable since the two were so closely related. In another instance in the Vanderhorst family, the daughter of one of two first cousins married the cousin of her father. This was the second marriage for the cousin. The informant who provided that fact to this researcher also conveyed general disapproval. There were several instances in which brothers and sisters of different families married, but this is considered acceptable. For example, in the Willmore family two brothers married two Green sisters.

In general, among the Immigrants a considerable amount of emphasis has been placed upon the importance of family, language and religion in ethnic identity. Although in some instances, begrudgingly and/or regretfully, it is admitted by the Immigrants that the number of intermarriages is increasing, the increase is not occurring at a rapid pace. Efforts are still made to maintain and encourage the maintenance of the Immigrant culture, ancestry and

identity, particularly through marriage, but not at the cost of incestuous practices. When it is necessary or desirable to marry outside of the ethnic group, the socialization process is generally maintained within the Immigrant family since it is the male who generally engages in exogamy, thus, insuring some intergenerational continuity.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

It is against the background of "structural pluralism" that strategies of strengthening intergroup harmony, reducing ethnic discrimination and prejudice, and maintaining the rights of both those who stay within and those who venture beyond their ethnic boundaries must be thoughtfully devised. (Gordon, 1974:94)

In an effort to isolate the variables which contribute to and maintain ethnicity, various scholars have suggested political dimensions and structures as major variables. It is recognized that in many instances the political structure may enhance or impede pluralism by discouraging or encouraging expressions of ethnicity. The encouragement or discouragement of ethnicity may result either in in-group cooperation or in-group conflict.

As mentioned in the literature on race relations in Chapter Two, there is a prevalent argument that group conflict fosters (and may even be necessary for) group solidarity--the "we-they phenomenon." The Immigrants tend to be rather ethnocentric in their view of the cultural development of Samana, and the phenomenon of "we-they" is alive and well, but the corresponding conflict is not present. When asked, the informants questioned in this

study acknowledged some problems in the Dominican Republic. There is the general recognition that, as a black person in the Dominican Republic, the opportunities and life chances may at times be limited.

During the research conducted by this writer, several informants were quick to point out the differential value system and level of "civilization." They further suggested that the Immigrants were the major initiators of the advancement of the community and were instrumental in elevating the quality of culture. Traditionally, they were reputed to have maintained a more disciplined respect and maintenance of values. Interestingly enough, some of the Natives shared some of those same beliefs. Yet, although this ethnocentrism exists, a considerable degree of integration on social, professional and institutional levels remains. Immigrants are found in businesses, high governmental positions, and even as a president of the country at one point in the history of the Dominican Republic. "Miss Dora," one of the pure Immigrant informants, describes her uncle, who in his efforts to serve the country as a member of the Dominican legislature used to regularly walk and/or ride many miles from Samana to the capital, Santo Domingo, so that he might serve his country and with pride represent his people in Samana. Thus, one does not find conflict as a major variable fostering solidarity among the Immigrants.

Based upon the findings in their study of 100 couples, Burgess and Wallin suggest that "[p]roximity is therefore mainly a circumscribing factor, providing the special limit, social as well as physical, of the contacts that may finally eventuate in marriage" (1968:34). The research findings on the samanesa Immigrants positively answer the research questions whether homogamy, residential proximity and endogamy are factors in mate selection. In response to the question, "In such exogamous mating, what identification patterns are manifested in the offspring?" an effect of endogamous tendencies has been circular linkage in which marrying within one's group has resulted in continued socialization and intergenerational transference of culture, which, in turn, reinforced the importance and value of endogamous mate selection. For the Immigrants, even when that circle was broken by exogamous unions, it quite often "patched" itself in the next few generations. As illustrated in Table Four, of the 33 spouses of mixed ancestry, 21 married Immigrants. Further support of this may be shown in the genealogical chart of the Vanderhorst family in Appendix Two.

Endogamy, with a homogamous religious base, has been and continues to be encouraged and practiced by a majority of the cases studied. Even in many instances when one of the members married a Native, which sometimes resulted in subsequent family apellido change to Native apellido, the children frequently sought spouses in the Immigrant

group. By demonstrating that deliberate efforts have been made to strictly monitor the ethnic identity and integrity of the Immigrant, and spouses' residences of mates tended to be close to each other, the following research questions have been addressed.

How important is propinquity in homogamy?

What have been the predominant marriage patterns?

To what extent are mate selections self-conscious and deliberately based upon ethnic identity (homogamy)?

The findings also illustrate the appropriateness of such family theories as value theories, psychoanalytic theories and structural-functionalist theories in the analysis of mating patterns among the Immigrants. It showed that there was a tendency for "likes to choose likes." The desired or ideal mate was one who was religious and lived by the values promulgated in the AME and Wesleyan Churches.

Having completed the research, this researcher realizes that using Immigrant apellido as the major criterion for examination placed an unexpected limitation upon the sample composition, and, thus, the data collection and findings, because conceivably the endogamous tendencies may have been very strong in a family with a Native apellido, but if the majority of the children tended to be males, the Native apellido may have predominated. Thus, endogamous tendencies may be even greater than the research findings indicate. Using a hypothetical family the results could be

as follows:

Pure Native Juan Lopez marries pure Immigrant Jane Willmore.

They have four children who marry the following:

<u>children</u>	<u>Immigrant spouses</u>
Jose Lopez	Juanita Johnson
Julio Lopez	Tomasa Barett
Mario Lopez	Lucinda Willmore
Ana Lopez	William Green

Julio Lopez and Tomasa Barret have two children who marry the following:

<u>children</u>	<u>Immigrant spouse</u>
John Lopez	Juana Green
Abraham Lopez	Ana Smith

Abraham Lopez and Ana Smith have three children who marry the following:

<u>children</u>	<u>Immigrant spouse</u>
Hanibal Lopez	Maria Metiviere
Celina Lopez	Luis Perez
Julio Lopez	Cristina Mitchell

Hanibal Lopez and Maria Metiviere have three children who also marry Immigrants. There are now five generations of the Lopez family with only one marrying a Native. Yet, based solely upon apellido, all generations may be classified as Native when in reality the Immigrant endogamy was very strong.

Although the reliance upon surnames in categorization may have led, as just described, to an underestimation of the prevalence of endogamy in Samana, the data still demonstrate the prevalence and persistence of endogamy. That such endogamy has been a major contributor to the survival

of ethnic identity among the Immigrants was a conclusion presented in Chapter Five, thus, answering the research question, "What role has mate selection played in ethnic identity and identity maintenance?"

Contrary to Burgess and Wallin's (1968) suggestion that propinquity is only a contributing factor, this research suggests that propinquity was found to be an essential or necessary condition, but not always a sufficient condition, as evidenced by the persistence of some of the Immigrants to marry other samanesa Immigrants, even after one or both had left the Samana Province. The propinquity being discussed is not limited to physical residence or proximity, but should also be expanded to include ideological and ancestral propinquity. The Immigrants recognize not only their heritage in the Dominican Republic, but they also see and have attempted (in their limited way) to maintain a sensitivity to and identification with the Pan-African nature of their heritage. Many of the Afro-American Immigrants refer to Afro-Americans born in the United States as brothers and sisters. This researcher did not notice the same reference (with reverence) applied to the Native Dominicans.

Distinctions must be made between structural assimilation and cultural assimilation (Kobrin & Goldschneider, 1978; Mithun, 1978), in a fashion similar to the distinctions made between structural pluralism and cultural pluralism. The Immigrants of the Dominican Republic are

structurally assimilated but culturally distinct, and yet the samanesa community is culturally pluralist without the need for structural pluralism. The Immigrant group of Samana, having survived for 161 years, constitutes a persistent system and meets the criteria established by Spicer (1971).

I have emphasized that a persistent system is a cumulative cultural phenomenon, an open-ended system that defines a course of action for the people believing in it. Such peoples are able to maintain continuity in their experience and their conception of themselves in a wide variety of sociocultural environments. (p. 799)

The Immigrant group is particularly interesting and unique in that it is a group of people "of color" who choose to identify with, and fiercely maintain, their African ancestral identity in the face of Western societies which constantly promulgate, on television and other mass media, the beauty and importance of Caucasian characteristics. Although it was noted in a previous chapter that the Iberian conception of color is not dichotomous, thus, resulting in more tolerance of "peoples of color," members of the samanesa community do regularly come into contact with Caucasians from Western societies with dichotomous social systems. Many have traveled to the United States and other English speaking regions, many have relatives living in those regions, and/or many have lived there themselves. Still, there is the desire and effort to maintain the

distinctive Afro-descendant cultural identity through vehicles of religion and nuptiality.

There is value to ethnic maintenance, and as illustrated in the case of Samana, it can exist in a harmonious environment. Shea provides an excellent synopsis of the potential uses and values of ethnicity when he states:

On the surface ethnic consciousness can appear as a form of racism. The emphasis on particularity can be seen as isolating group from group, fostering the differences within the human community, and leading to oppression and hostility. There is no doubt that a partial approach to ethnic consciousness could lead to chauvinism. But a "thoroughgoing" ethnicity respecting every heritage and in its unique appropriation of what it means to be human, can lead to a respect which is the beginning of dialogue. Too quickly saying we are alike can lead to the violent discovery that we are not. But if each story is told in its ethnic peculiarity, we may see patterns of similarity, complementary rhythms of sin and redemption, and be bound together as storytellers. (1977:88)

It is hoped that subsequent research will be conducted on this, as well as other persistent cultural systems, with an eye toward the development of more positive culturally pluralistic environments. Perhaps lessons may be learned from the Immigrants of Samana.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX ONE
ADDITIONAL NAME CHANGES IN THE
EVOLUTION OF THE IMMIGRANT FAMILY

<u>ORIGINAL NAME</u>	<u>CHANGES</u>	
Anderson	Andersin	
Barrett	Barret Barett	Baret Bareth
Buck	Bock	
Capois	Capais Copois	Capuas Capua
Dishmey	Dishme Disme Dismey	Dischme Dischmey
Johnson	Jonson	Jhonson
Jones	Johns Jons	Jhons
Medina	Medena	
Miller	Millord	
Paul	Palo	
Redman	Redding Redmond	Reding Redmon
Rodney	Radney	
Shepherd	Shephard	Shepard
Simmons	Simons	Symonds
Smith	Smitch	
Willmore	Wilmore	

[illegible]

[illegible]

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! PERSON CHILDREN ! GRAND CHILDREN ! GREAT CHILDREN ! GREAT
! ! ! ! ! GREAT
! ! ! ! ! GREAT
! ! ! ! ! GREAT
! ! ! ! ! GRAND
! ! ! ! ! CHILDREN
! ! ! ! ! ! FATHER: Luciano Hilton
! ! ! ! ! ! Delores Jones (ID=1247)
! ! ! ! ! ! Simon Jones Jr (ID=2495)
! ! ! ! ! ! MOTHER: Sara Jane King (ID=777)
! ! ! ! ! ! Mariana Jones (ID=1114)
! ! ! ! ! ! N: 26 Nov 1936 TO Daniel King (ID=1113) A B
! ! ! ! ! ! Child
! ! ! ! ! ! MOTHER: Elmina ? (ID=1997)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Elmina Jones King (ID=306)
! ! ! ! ! ! M: TO Andres Coplin Jr. (ID=305)
! ! ! ! ! ! FATHER: Daniel King (ID=1113)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Sallie Jones de Buck (NO ID)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Hermina Jones (ID=1975)
! ! ! ! ! ! MOTHER: Elmina ? (ID=1997)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Cesar (NO ID)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Peter (NO ID)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Wishingham (NO ID)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Talitha (sp?) Jones (ID=2445)
! ! ! ! ! ! MOTHER: Elmina ? (ID=1997)
! ! ! ! ! ! !
! ! ! ! ! ! Leonora Jones (ID=1313)
! ! ! ! ! ! MOTHER: Elmina ? (ID=1997)

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APPENDIX THREE
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF KEY INFORMANTS

Ricardo Barret y Green	aged 32, one of seven children, both parents Immigrants (both Afro-English and Afro-American ancestry), photographer and tour guide, single.
Celina Willmore (y Green) de Coplin	one of fourteen children, pure Afro-American ancestry, married to Afro-American Immigrant, widowed.
Simeon Jones y Furchue	aged 84, one of eight children, pure Afro-American ancestry, farmer in Honduras, married to an Afro-American Immigrant.
Rebecca Willmore (y Green) de Lake	Afro-American ancestry, housewife in <u>barrio</u> Willmore, married to an Afro-English Immigrant.
Thelma McKenzie y Derrick	one of six children, Afro-English ancestry, public school teacher, married to a Native, widowed.
Jacob Shepherd y Paul	aged 78, one of seven children, pure Afro-American ancestry, farmer in Los Algarobos, married to mixed but phenotypically African spouse.

Vertte Felander Nuney
(y Dishmey) de Shepherd

aged 74, one of two children, mixed ancestry but phenotypically African, farmer in Los Algarobos, married to an Afro-American Immigrant.

Luis Simon y Lake

one of eight children, Afro-English ancestry, farmer in barrio Willmore, married to a Afro-American Immigrant.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Eleanor Valerie Smith (known as E. Valerie Smith) entered the University of Florida in 1980 with the expressed intention of getting a Ph.D. in sociology with a concentration in intergroup relations and Latin American/Caribbean studies and a minor in demography. She has a B.A. in sociology from Loyola University (Chicago), an M.S.W. (concentration in community organization) and an M.A. (sociology and anthropology) from Atlanta University.

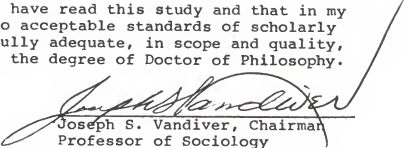
Ms. Smith has had a myriad of experiences. Among other things, she has taught on the college level for over ten years and has worked with governmental (local, state and national) social agencies and programs, a mental hospital and a correctional facility, as well as private social agencies. She has been a Phelps-Stokes Scholar to the Caribbean and is currently on contract with the U.S. State Department to be an official escort for international visitors (particularly from African countries). She has conducted research in the Caribbean and is particularly interested and knowledgeable of the Black African Diaspora. During the past two years, she has remained active in the national AME Church Missions Division, serving as consultant

and advisory council member. She has also done consulting in Jamaica, the Dominican Republic, Georgia, Florida, and New Jersey.

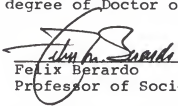
Ms. Smith speaks Spanish fluently and has some facility in speaking, writing and/or reading in French, Haitian Creole and Portuguese.

For the past three years she has been employed at Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University as an Assistant Professor of Sociology, Anthropology, Criminal Justice and Social Work.

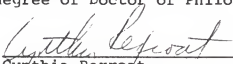
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Joseph S. Vandiver, Chairman
Professor of Sociology

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Felix Berardo
Professor of Sociology


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Cynthia Rexroat
Assistant Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


Hernan Vera
Associate Professor of Sociology

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.


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This dissertation was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of Sociology in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

May 1986

Dean, Graduate School